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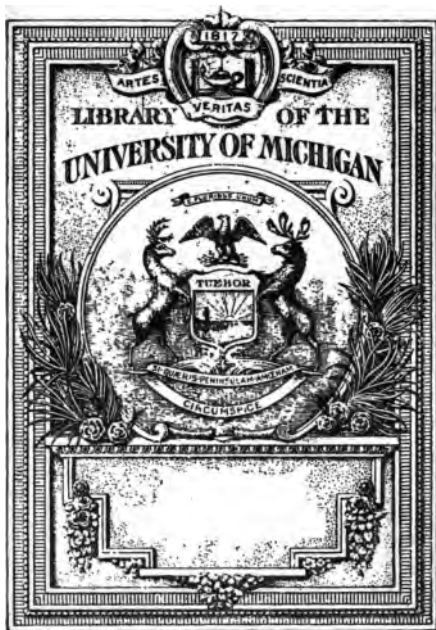
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THE GIFT OF
Louis I. Bredvold

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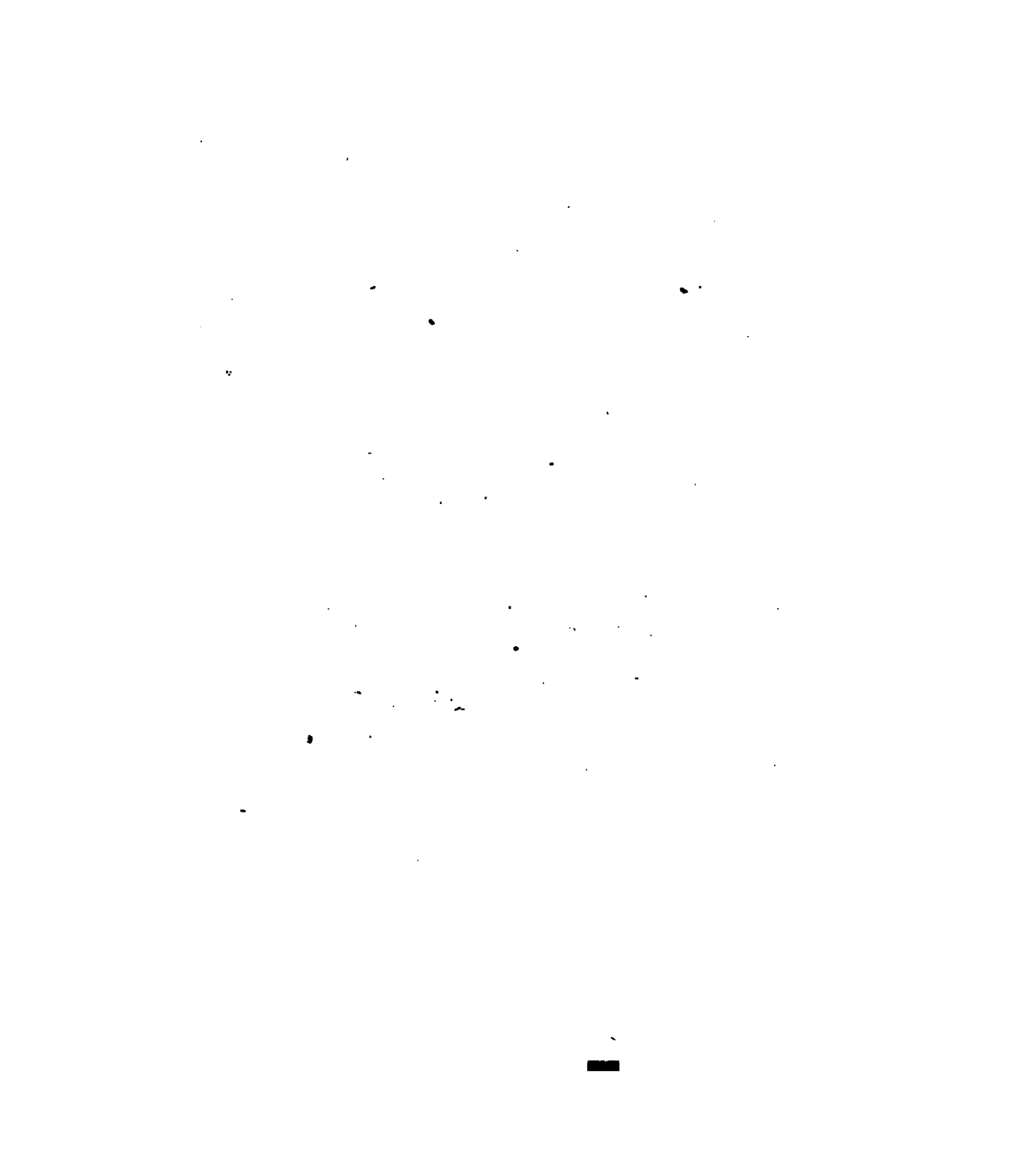
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THE T O W N T A L K,
THE F I S H P O O L,
THE P L E B E I A N, THE O L D W H I G,
THE S P I N S T E R, &c.
BY THE AUTHORS OF THE TATLER,
SPECTATOR, AND GUARDIAN.
NOW FIRST COLLECTED;
With Notes and ILLUSTRATIONS.



L O N D O N,
Printed by and for JOHN NICHOLS.
M.DCC.LXXXIX.

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Plate I. of the FISH POOL,
 Plate II.

to face p. 206
 p. 22

* * The following extract from a Letter of Sir RICHARD STEELE to his Lady, dated from London, April 10, 1717, abundantly illustrates what is said in page 87; and proves that he perfectly understood the Protestant principle, and that he embraced it, not only to talk about, but to live upon: "You say I am reputed a Tory. You know I have always an unfashionable thing, called Conscience, in all matters of judicature or justice. There happened, a little while ago, a petition to be brought into the House of Commons from the Roman-catholics, praying relief as to point of time, and the meaning of certain clauses which affected them. When there was a question just ready to be put upon this, as whether it should be rejected or not, I stood up and said to this purpose: 'Mr. Speaker, I cannot but be of opinion, that to put severities upon men merely on account of Religion is a most grievous and unwarrantable proceeding. But, indeed, the Roman-catholics hold tenets which are inconsistent with the being and safety of a Protestant people; for this reason we are justified in laying upon them the penalties which the Parliament has from time to time thought fit to inflict: but, Sir, let us not pursue Roman-catholics with the spirit of Roman-catholics; but act towards them with the temper of our own Religion. If we do so, we shall not expect them to do any thing in less time than is necessary to do it, or to conduct themselves by rules which they do not understand,' &c. When I had ventured to say this, others followed; and there is a bill directed for the relief of the petitioners. I suppose this gave an handle to the fame of my being a Tory; but you may, perhaps, by this time, have heard that I am turned Presbyterian; for the same day, in a meeting of a hundred pious amient men, I laboured as much for the Protestant Dissenters."

T O W N - T A L K,
 I N
 A S E R I E S O F L E T T E R S
 T O
 A L A D Y I N T H E C O U N T R Y.

*

N^o 1. Saturday, December 17, 1715:

M A D A M,

IT had need be a pleasure to obey your commands; when you employ me in a way to which I am without those commands naturally averse; and I must take the liberty to say, there is the utmost insolence of power in a fine woman's making a man do what she knows

* The TOWN-TALK was a *Weekly Paper*, printed originally in 4to. and sold by R. Burleigh in Amen Corner, at the price of Three-pence each Number. It was afterwards sold by J. Roberts, near the Oxford Arms in Warwick-Lane; J. Graves in St. James's-Street; O. Lloyd near the Temple Church; and A. Dodd, at the Peacock without Temple-Bar; where Advertisements were taken in.

B

he

he of all things dislikes, meerly because she knows the motive of pleasing her is the only one in the world could make him undertake it. Sure you have not considered enough, that the general order you have given me, to write to you every thing which passes in town, will expose you to hear many impertinencies, from which the greatness of your understanding, and perhaps the dignity of your virtue, ought to defend you *. I have indeed this comfort, that neither good sense nor real innocence are easily alarmed, but sit in a security unknown to pretenders to either of those blessings. But to write you constantly once a week the news and the occurrences of the preceding seven days, is a task I must be forgiven if I should sometimes omit. One of your letters says, "Write any thing, and every thing." From this licence

* The TOWN-TALK, was probably a title given to a series of genuine letters written by STEELE to his lady then in the country, and printed upon some pressing exigence. On this supposition, the undated LETTERS to his Lady in STEELE'S "Epistolary Correspondence," or some of them at least, might have been referred not improperly to this period of time. See *ut supra*, vol. I. *passim*.

There may be passages and whole numbers in the TOWN-TALK to which this supposition may not be thought applicable; but all such parts of the Paper might be posterior additions to the original letters, inserted with various views, or merely to eke out the publication, and adapt the *style* to its end, which was probably to relieve himself from the pressure of some claim upon him, incurred by the vanity of his *own*, the *imprudence of his generosity*, or the peevishness and caprice *itself*.

(if

(if I do not wrong myself in calling it such, having your authority for it), I shall begin my correspondence with a story that now is all the TALK OF THE TOWN, and of which some celebrated Fair-ones are the Heroines. Country-gentlewomen may perhaps think these vivacities incredible; for you are not in the secret how to manage privacies by being very public in the manner of carrying them on, so public as that no one would believe there was any thing that required secrecy transacted with this kind of conduct. Houses for amorous entertainment in the most frequented busiest streets, is the improvement of Gallantry, as it is called, in these later days.

I am just come home from a visit, where I heard it related in a circle, by your cousin ARTHUR, who you know, never lets any circumstance revealed to him suffer by his repetition of it. Mrs. SUSANNAH DEMPS—I think her name is SUSANNAH, but it is the second sister I mean, who gave occasion to the history—Mrs. SUSANNAH asked cousin ARTHUR, “how he went on in his amour, and whether his cruel Fair began to lend an ear or not?” Upon which, he cast an observing eye upon her shape and said, “Pray Madam, who makes your petticoats? I am sure,” continued he, “you do

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“not buy where the lady you ask about bespeaks
“hers, you are so very slender!” An answer
to any enquiry after his mistress, with a question
“where do you buy your cloaths?” put us all
at a loss for the coherence. “But what a
“staring is here, as if none of you, “said he,
“had ever heard the History of *The Blind Gal-*
“*lant*, which is the present entertainment of
“the whole Town!”

When we all had confirmed him in a belief
that his story would be entirely new, he seemed
pleased with the opportunity of entertaining us
agreeably, and said as follows, or to this pur-
pose; for I had rather give it you by recollect-
ing as well as I can what he said, than attempt
to tell you in words of my own; besides that
I hope some parts of the story will be more
easily pardoned, when I assure you that it has
been told already in company of which you
would not have disdained to have made one.
Suppose then he had composed himself, and re-
collected his thoughts by looking for an instant
steadfastly at the fire, and then broke silence
as follows.

“I observe by your eagerness to hear me, that
“you think I am going to gratify your ill-na-
“ture with something full of scandal; and I see
“you expect to hear abundance of your friends
“and acquaintance torn to pieces by what I
“have

“ have to say. But, as I detest personal reflec-
 “ tions as much as I do general vices, I shall
 “ not give you the character of any person but
 “ under a feigned name, and even in that do it
 “ so as it may affect the crime, and not the per-
 “ son who is so unfortunate as to be guilty of
 “ it. I will go no nearer as to the place where
 “ what I am going to say was acted, than to
 “ acknowledge frankly to you that the scene is
 “ in an house between *Knightbridge* and *Stepney*;
 “ and that if you can take the pains, you will
 “ find within that space there lives a very good
 “ body of the age of forty-two or thereabouts,
 “ who is extremely handy in her business, and
 “ is, as she will tell you herself, the best maker
 “ of mantoes and petticoats of any of that com-
 “ modious occupation within the bills of mor-
 “ tality. She is impertinent and genteel, has
 “ the true state of affairs in city, town, and
 “ country; yet does not confine her knowledge
 “ to general things, but condescends to enquire
 “ into the affairs of every private family, with
 “ which she is as well acquainted as with her
 “ own. Silly women of condition look upon
 “ her as the wonder of the age for her great
 “ parts; and the witty ones receive her as a more
 “ agreeable companion to them than any of
 “ their near relations. But to come to the point :
 “ It has been observable for four or five years

“ past that the petticoats made by this artificer
“ have swelled soon after they came out of her
“ hands, and the proportion between the hoop
“ and the waist, and from the hoops and the
“ circumference of the petticoat on the floor, has
“ been remarkably preserved in her ware above
“ what has appeared in the performance of any
“ other workwoman. It was at first given out
“ that her petticoats were quilted with ostrich-
“ feathers, which are known to receive a new
“ elasticity from the warmth of the body, till it
“ grew notorious that this was not the reason,
“ but that the wearers of them were pregnant.
“ When that was publicly known, the Natu-
“ ralists were long at a loss to find cause of fer-
“ tility in buckram and whalebone only; but
“ Time which discovers all things, has made it
“ appear that she has had assistances, which ex-
“ plain the mystery. You are to understand,
“ Mrs. THIMBLE (for that shall be her name)
“ was bred up in a distant part of England, at
“ a gentleman’s house of a great estate, to whose
“ wife THIMBLE was a distant relation.

“ When the lady we are now speaking of was
“ about eleven years of age, her kinswoman
“ brought into the world a blind male-child.
“ The infant was remarkably beautiful; and as it is
“ the wise dictate of Nature, that we love those
“ children

“ children dearest whom she presents to our care
“ with most infirmities, the mother could never
“ look at this child without the softest touches
“ of affection, and a partiality as her fond heart
“ told her, to that sweet harmony of features,
“ that glowing warmth of complexion in the
“ boy’s countenance, that was *chequed* and over-
“ cast with blindness. It was a common exer-
“ cise with her, as he grew into years of prattling,
“ to sit whole hours looking at him, to admire
“ his perfections, and lament his defect. To
“ hear his pretty endeavours at comprehending
“ what could come only to him by sight, and
“ see him smile with such a free countenance,
“ till the dimples of joy seemed to sink at his
“ eyes, was her daily employment: but she
“ found this fond melancholy incapacitated her
“ for her household affairs, and from that con-
“ sideration, resolved to put Mr. CHARLES into
“ the hands of BETTY THIMBLE, who had
“ orders to lead him, to divert, to instruct him,
“ and keep him out of the way of hurting him-
“ self, or being hurt by other children.

“ This familiarity grew up between Mrs.
“ THIMBLE and Mr. CHARLES, till she was fit
“ to be put abroad to a relation of hers in
“ town, for a livelihood; and the poor child’s
“ unfortunate circumstances made it necessary
“ to place him near her; for whom he had now

“ taken such a passionate affection, that he could
“ not live without her. When he grew up to-
“ wards years of discretion, he used to say,
“ Whatever you mean by light, since cousin
“ BETTY enjoys it, I don’t want it; as I observe,
“ said he, you are silent soon after I hear you
“ say it is dark, and my cousin is of the same
“ humour, I can only follow her way, and sleep
“ as the rest of you do.’ Mrs. THIMBLE has
“ had the care of him from his earliest years to
“ those of manhood: he is now in the liveliest
“ and most sprightly days of life; and it is well
“ known that she visits her blind man with
“ much diligence on occasions for which dark-
“ ness is chosen, even by those who enjoy their
“ sight. As Mrs. THIMBLE had observed du-
“ ring her apprenticeship under her kinswoman,
“ an experienced dame from whom she learned
“ her trade, that greater profits were made by
“ the intelligence than labour of a true manto-
“ maker, it came into her head one day, and
“ she jumped at the conception of it, that she
“ might employ Mr. CHARLES for her service to
“ as good purpose as her mistress had formerly
“ engaged others. She laid great stress in her
“ imagination of this particular advantage, that
“ favours could not be boasted, where the person
“ who bestowed them was unknown to the re-
“ ceiver. Madam THIMBLE has a great deal
“ of

“ of humour and fancy, is very daring, and can
“ from those qualities bring to pass what to the
“ ordinary part of the world would seem im-
“ practicable. Mr. CHARLES is tall, well-shaped,
“ and having had his chief education in the
“ *chit-chat* of women, who are his friends and
“ relations, or were the customers of Mrs.
“ THIMBLE’s mistress, or herself ever since she
“ set up, his conversation is remarkably agree-
“ able. It is notorious that blind people are
“ usually chearful ; and he is so in a very par-
“ ticular manner, from the people with whom
“ he has always lived. Add to this, that he
“ has a most charming voice ; and though he
“ has never learned to dance, when a minuet is
“ played, his natural motion to it, especially
“ when led about by Mrs. THIMBLE, is surpriz-
“ ingly just, and gracefully exact : for the ear
“ being uninterrupted by the vagaries of the eye,
“ he keeps time, to the inexpressible satisfaction
“ of his spectators, who are often such without
“ his knowing it, as his gipsy has a mind to
“ play him off. Such Mr. CHARLES is, and such
“ Mrs. THIMBLE. To carry on her design
“ upon him for the gratification of her best and
“ favourite customers, she for some time
“ feigned to the youth, ‘ that what had passed
“ between them began to be observed and
“ *spoke* of, and therefore it was necessary they
“ should

“should act with more caution. Indeed,
 “said she, my dear, Love has made me as in-
 “capable of knowing whether I was taken no-
 “tice of or no as you are. But hereafter, be-
 “cause I know servants listen, I beg of you,
 “upon no provocation, to speak one word to
 “me, except I speak to you first.”

“When this step was secured, Mrs. THIMBLE
 “took frequent occasion to mention ‘poor Mr.
 “CHARLES’ to a young lady who lived in her
 “neighbourhood, and was the superfluous re-
 “tinue of an old wealthy man in the character
 “of a wife. She one day began to her, ‘I never
 “think of the gentleman at my house, but I
 “fancy if he had had eyes to see your beauty
 “he must have fallen in love with you, for there
 “is something in the air of his face and the
 “make of his features extremely like you.’ The
 “lady, in some confusion, answered gravely,
 “‘Though he is blind, Mrs. THIMBLE, I am
 “not.’ This gave our dame sufficient proof
 “that what she before suspected was a truth, to
 “wit, that the lady was not without some good
 “liking of Mr. CHARLES. There is a skill in
 “these gipsies of acting according to the incli-
 “nation of those whom they design to oblige in
 “their amours, without the bluntness of seem-
 “ing to understand their inclinations. This ad-
 “dress of gratifying without reducing people

“to

“ to the necessity of declaring their passions, is
“ what Mrs. THIMBLE possesses, above all the
“ servants of pleasure in the town. She from
“ time to time threw opportunities in the way
“ of the certain young wife I am speaking of;
“ and one evening, by way of confidence and
“ freedom of discourse, confessed her own frailty
“ with Mr. CHARLES, and owned the place they
“ were then in to be the scene of their corre-
“ spondence; but spoke it as a matter of mere
“ diversion and frolick, that if she should think
“ fit to play him such a trick, she could at any
“ time pass any other woman upon him, she
“ having already obliged him to the utmost
“ silence for her own sake. After a little dis-
“ course to this purpose, a well-taught girl of
“ hers called her into another room; she went
“ out, but immediately returned, leading Mr.
“ CHARLES to her customer, who suffered more
“ than I can relate before she had satisfied her
“ amazement and curiosity upon the oddness of
“ this adventure. The husband concerned in
“ the history, after some weeks finding his estate
“ likely to be entailed upon the heirs of the
“ body of his wife lawfully begotten without
“ much consulting him in making the con-
“ veyance, was it seems, inconsiderately violent
“ on the occasion, and traced the injury to one
“ whom he could not but acknowledge innocent
“ of

“ of it ; and after mature vexation, is now
 “ settled upon the matter, and fearful only that
 “ his descendant may betray his fire by wanting
 “ one of his senses. The good man has the phi-
 “ losophy to reflect, that such an evil could not
 “ befall a man with so much cause of consolation
 “ elsewhere. If he is injured, it is an injury
 “ that has not the disgrace of mens observation
 “ on it ; nay, not so much as of him who is the
 “ author of it. M^{rs}. THIMBLE is too covetous,
 “ as well as too vain, to impart this secret to one
 “ person only ; and Mr. CHARLES is become
 “ a bye-word in a sisterhood who know each
 “ other to be entertained by him. You shall
 “ hear one of them talk of *pitying the poor*
 “ *blind of all the poor in the world* : you shall
 “ hear another of them say, *the blind are the*
 “ *greatest object of charity* *. I will not name
 “ names ;

* The Author himself makes an apology in his second number for the narration given here, in a manner it seems that *gave very great offence*. It may still be censured and censurable ; but in mitigation of whatever censure it may deserve, fairness requires an observation here ; that it probably dropt hastily in the gaiety of his heart and inwardness of conjugal confidence, from the pen of a fond husband writing to a young, gay, and beautiful wife, who had been for some time absent from him. It does not follow from this that STEELE was not reprehensible for communicating to the public a narrative of this nature with a degree of freedom hardly pardonable in relating it to the wife of his bosom. Pope had a happy sagacity in the discrimination of characters, knew him well, and was niggardly enough in his compliments excepting to himself ; yet *he bore STEELE this honourable testimony* recorded by Mr. Ruffhead,

“ Ha

“ names ; but I know Mr. CHARLES has robbed
 “ me of my mistress, nor do I pretend to rival.”

Here Mr. ARTHUR saw a little severity arise in the ladies looks ; but keeping up his confidence, he said “ he knew he told them only what they
 “ had all heard before ;” and calling Mr. CHARLES the happiest deluded man in the world, went out of the room without hearing our reflections on his narrative.

Madam, I could not have given you this story, but that it is absolutely necessary, as being an incident that lets you into the Present State of LOVE ; and it being the newest adventure in the Town, as well as likely to produce more than is yet come to light, it was necessary to let you into the whole affair. But I will leave CHARLES in the Burning Zone, to give a farther account of what you recommended to me, which was, to see Plays, and give you my sentiments of those entertainments, and the taste of the company *.

It

“ *He had a real love of virtue.*” Those who are best acquainted with STEELE’s writings, will be most readily disposed to subscribe heartily to POPE’s opinion. With an uncommon share of vivacity, and a pleasurable disposition, STEELE appears to have kept on the best principles, a strict guard on the wantonness of his imagination. Of the many and various productions of his pen that are now known, it is but bare justice to say in general, that they are manly, chaste, and meritorious, manifestly designed, and admirably calculated to inspire and support wisdom and goodness, and the love of them.

* This passage seems to countenance the supposition suggested in the Note to p. 2. Such a recommendation as is here mentioned can hardly be supposed to have come from any Lady but his own ; and from her it might
 come

It is certain the Fair Sex lead the fashion ; and I cannot give you a more lively image that the generality of those who live at their ease are either employed very frivolously, or as the sharers in Mr. CHARLES are, than this, that the Tragedy of " Venice Preserved " was very thin of Ladies, and the audience discovered so poor a taste, that the most applauded passage in the whole play was BELVIDERA's description of the ravisher old RENAULT. The distress of a couple undone by a generous passion, the misery of a whole nation shortly coming to pass, and a woman of honour involved in the ruin, though designing to serve her father and her country, had no manner of effect ; but they all understood what it was to find a beautiful woman alone at midnight far from help, and the like. But they tell us we are to have a mighty amendment in theatrical entertainments, for there is forsooth a patent * that enables the undertaker at the house of *Drury-Lane* to chastise the vices of the stage, and promote the interests of virtue and innocence. This, they tell you, will be immediately set on foot; and they have indeed gone so far *into* it, as to have resolved to end the

come very properly, dictated either by parsimony or kindness, as thinking the Playhouse where her husband was free and welcome, preferable to the Tavern, then too much frequented, where fashion and conviviality too often tempted him to squander his money, and injure his health.

* See it at large in N^o VI.

playing

playing before the commencement of the ensuing festival with a Play, if not promoting Virtue, yet written in analogy to the principles of it, nay of Religion. The entertainment I mean is "HAMLET," in which there are innumerable incidents which strongly strike the mind of the spectator, with messages of horror, revenge upon unjust actions undertaken from ambition, with many other laudable circumstances, on which I have heard you make much better observations than I can suggest, unless I were to remind you of what you yourself said of OPHELIA's melancholy at the introduction of the Grave-digger, the conversation of the scholars with the prince, the duel, the explanation between the son and mother, and so of the whole work.

I went, as you bid me, to see the Prisoners from Preston * on Friday last; but you could not have put me upon a more ungrateful task; to see a number of deluded zealots sacrificed to the pride and ambition of those who will venture

* These, to the number of 200, were brought to town Dec. 9, 1715, under a strong guard, with swords drawn, and bayonets at the end of their muskets. Among them were the Lords Derwentwater and Wedderington, both Catholics; General Forester, with his attendant Chaplain, and a Catholic Priest; the Scotch Lords Nitheisdale, Carnworth, Kenmuir; Brigadier Mackintosh, &c. After being led in procession through the principal streets; those of superior quality were lodged in the Tower; about 50 were conducted to Newgate; 80 to the Fleet; and 50 to the Marshalsea.

nothing

nothing but their interest in another world for any cause or party, was matter of sorrow and pity to me; though at the same time I could not but rejoice in seeing the open enemies of my country disarmed and at mercy. There was a young lad there with a rope round his shoulders, who it seems has shewed an uncommon courage and magnanimity. If he can be begged at Tyburn, he will be as great a public favourite as master CHARLES is a private one.

I must beg your excuse for answering how it comes to pass that the most popular cause, and a prince at the head of it with the most humane qualities that ever blessed a throne, should not be more popular, and the principles and persons of men who have so many years meditated the general ruin not yet the scorn and abomination of mankind. I will not answer such questions, but confine myself to the rehearsal of TOWN-TALK, and have to do with the science of Politics no otherwise than as it is such *.

But when I tell you I will give you only the TALK OF THE TOWN, it is necessary that I explain what I understand you expect by that description of the sort of intelligence you would have. It is ordinary to say the *City*, *Town*, and *Country*; this takes in the residence of all the

* The meaning is, that he would not write of any thing of a *political* nature, unless it became *Town-Talk*.

inhabitants of this great and virtuous island : but the word TOWN implies the best people in the whole, where-ever they are pleased or are disposed or are able to live. THE TOWN is the upper part of the world, or rather the fashionable people, those who are distinguished from the rest by some eminence. These compose what we call THE TOWN ; and the intelligent very well know, that many have got estates both in London and Westminster, and died in these cities, that could never get into TOWN. As the *Exchange* is the heart of LONDON ; the *great Hall*, and all under the contiguous roofs, the heart of WESTMINSTER ; so is *Covent-Garden* the heart of THE TOWN. What happens to be in discourse or agitation among the pleasurable and reasonable people is what shall make up THE TOWN-TALK.

The Idle and the Lazy are equally out of TOWN, if nothing arises from their sloth or employment worth preferring them to the notice of the elegant. It is in this spirit, that when the streets and houses are full, it is often very justly said “ there is nobody in TOWN.” And when the men of business are at a loss, it is dictated by us who are in TOWN what they should do, and we say, “ THE TOWN *will have it* ” so and so. It is to be noted, that every one would be in TOWN if they could, but something or

other happens unfortunately, that thousands die by the way. I shall give you an exact account from time to time who are in Town, who are travelling to it, and who are out of the road, and drive from it in proportion to the speed they make towards it. I am, Madam,

Your most obedient,
and most humble servant.

N° II.

Friday, December 23. 1715.

M A D A M,

THE epistle, which I sent you last week, had a narration in it which has given very great offence *; but I had no apprehensions that it would disturb you; for though the facts which compose the story are highly licentious, I am confident it was told in a manner which could not excite to the vice it described, but expressed what happened, by drawing the imagination to another object, the very instant wherein the most blameable transaction was intimated. There was a drift in beginning in this manner our correspondence; for as it is the wise provision of our law-givers to take care that every member should

* See the note in p. 12, & seqq.

write the whole superscription of the letters which they frank, I could not get any to do me that favour, without naming your name; for which, and many other reasons, I print what I send you, to raise a fund for postage, as well as that I would have the opinion of the Town upon what I write to her whom I prefer to all the rest of my readers. Had there been nothing of *amorous intrigue* in the story, it had lain like the translation of an Italian Opera, stripped of the musick, which makes the nonsense pass off. There is an established state of Innocence and Virtue, which is of too healthy a complexion to receive hurt or contagion from the observation of vices and infirmities, in which other people rejoice. To such an one as your Ladyship, the intrigues of vicious lovers may be related with the same safety, as gambols, dances and gesticulations in a drunken Dutch picture, may be seen by a sober and intelligent man. He has a pleasure in calm and indolent reflections above all that can be tasted in frolick and jollity: and part of this satisfaction arises from the inward sense of a tranquillity unknown to those who are in the madness of laughter.

I went the other day to visit the lady you commanded me, and found her up and dressed at twelve a clock in the morning. She gave me a

cup of tea, and began, and naming you, said,
“ she was sure the paper of TOWN-TALK was
“ written for your Ladyship’s service, and by me.”
I was going to say something in evasion of that
question, when she said, “ Well, Sir, I desire
“ you would give my humble service, and tell
“ her, if she were now in Town, she would be
“ the most particular odd creature in the world.
“ Her way was always to be some way or other
“ employed ; she used to be at her needle, hear-
“ ing another read, or else in her closet, half
“ the morning, reading alone. But pray tell
“ her from me, that she would have the fate
“ that I have, who was a woman of the same
“ kind of breeding, to be thought old-fashioned,
“ particular, and pretending. Women now-a-
“ days do only grow tall, and then get a toler-
“ able air in their person, and they are ac-
“ complished ladies. All the rest is supplied
“ by living in little groupes and parties, and
“ putting every thing out of countenance which
“ they don’t like, or running it down in the
“ circle wherein they themselves were. This is
“ a short way to supply those defects which are
“ not to be got over without thought and ap-
“ plication.

“ The persons of all those not in the favour
“ of one of these gangs, are considered from
“ head to foot ; and then it is so hideous, that
“ such

“such a one should pretend to have any thing.
“that became her. Being out of their favour
“is being guilty of all evil, and being in it
“furnishes the favourite with all that is good.
“This, Madam, is the insolence of fashion and
“wealth, which keeps the meanest people above
“contempt, gives them the assurance to throw
“all distinctions into that one circumstance,
“with this addition, which is very particular,
“that that shall not be a security to those whom
“they of the gang do not like, though it is all
“they have themselves to support them in the
“pretension of approving or disliking any one
“else.

“When people go beyond the rules of de-
“cency and reason, they give no bounds to
“their insolence and affectation. Fine ladies
“shall pretend to make it a fashion to act and
“talk fillily. If there be any thing peculiar in
“the tone of a voice, the nod of the head, or
“the gesture of the body, that they think gives
“a pretty and odd distinction to themselves, you
“shall have one of them speak in that affected
“manner a thing premeditatedly silly, and the
“rest shall admire it, ‘That is so natural, That
“is like her!’ *Naïveté* is a great word with
“them on that occasion, and I have very often
“heard it, as a term of praise, said, ‘That was

“so foolish !” It would be endless to recount
“to you the many instances of this kind, which
“every body that keeps *good* company must
“have observed, and they cannot have escaped
“your notice.”

We were here interrupted by a servant’s entering the room, and ushering in your cousin
ARTHUR.

My friend received him, by reassuming the discourse, and telling him, “that she was now
“entertaining me with some particular sentiments of her own, concerning the fine women
“of this age.”

He would not give her time to proceed, but, what is seldom pleasing to her, took the words out of her mouth ; and taking his seat, “Madam,” said he, “I never could yet understand what
“they meant by a *fine lady*. The ordinary
“idea, that strikes the imagination in the mention of her, is a female, somewhat below the
“size of a man, who is not reckoned tall. It is
“an harmony of supposed limbs, hid from us
“by soft attire, of well-chosen colours. It has
“a countenance made up of agreeable features
“and a fair complexion.” The lady interrupted him with, “O fie, Mr. ARTHUR !” and a modesty as if he was describing her. He took the hint with quickness enough ; and said,
“Madam,

“ Madam, it is certainly so, that your fine lady
“ has nothing of you, whom I really think one,
“ in the general acceptation of the word, but
“ your person. The *fine lady* is as little under-
“ stood as the *fine gentleman*. We do not think
“ of the obedient daughter, the agreeable wife,
“ the chaste matron, the deserving sister, or a
“ creature with any one attribute, but what are
“ inherent in her very make, and as inseparable
“ from her as life and motion. She may be, for
“ aught we observe of a fine lady, a ter-
“ magant, and an impertinent, vain, silly, and
“ malicious, without the least decay of features
“ or charms; and when we describe her to
“ our own minds as such a mere mechanism,
“ why should she discompose her pretty Being
“ with searching after accomplishments, which
“ are separate from the reasons of our liking?
“ You, Madam, whom I have known so ob-
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“ helpful a daughter to your mother, so orna-
“ mental and honourable a wife to your husband,
“ cannot suffer the least decay in your person or
“ your countenance, till I know you are weary
“ of the exercise of those qualities in any of
“ these relations.”

“ Sir,” said she with an air of much frank-
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“ fine woman, gratified my humour much more
“ than these reasonable praises. When I own
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“nobody but *him* to act IAGO.’ She answered,
“‘Why, Mr. CIBBER, I liked you mightily in
“it.’ ‘So great an honour as this,’ he replied,
“‘makes some recompence for the ill-will I
“have gained among our common audience for
“the many ill actions I have done under cha-
“racters of that sort.’ We laughed at his dis-
“tress; but he insisted upon it, that it had a
“very

“ very important ill effect upon his own little
“ affairs and conversation in the world. He ac-
“ knowledged, it proceeded from a good cause
“ in the audience, their detestation of the false-
“ hood he was guilty of in those characters,
“ without considering, that if he himself had
“ not the same detestation, he could never per-
“ form them. The horror of the vice is what
“ capacitates a man to search into it, and expose
“ it in its due deformity. Were this vice a
“ man’s own, he could not for his soul give it
“ out in odious and suitable gestures; but the
“ common people, who are hurried by sensible
“ objects without reflection, catch at the actor
“ for the murderer and the villain. They do
“ not consider, a man personates, and revenge
“ themselves in the imagination upon the imme-
“ diate offender; they carry this distaste to an
“ aversion for a man’s person, in all the indif-
“ ferent circumstances of life.”

This was the main of the CHIT-CHAT I met
with where you commanded me to visit; and I
could not but reflect with some gravity upon
the ill consequence of doing unacceptable things,
however laudable it may be in him who under-
takes them; and I hope, Madam, I shall have
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“ have gained among our common audience for
“ the many ill actions I have done under cha-
“ racters of that sort.’ We laughed at his dis-
“ tress; but he insisted upon it, that it had a
“ very

“ very important ill effect upon his own little
“ affairs and conversation in the world. He ac-
“ knowledged, it proceeded from a good cause
“ in the audience, their detestation of the false-
“ hood he was guilty of in those characters,
“ without considering, that if he himself had
“ not the same detestation, he could never per-
“ form them. The horror of the vice is what
“ capacitates a man to search into it, and expose
“ it in its due deformity. Were this vice a
“ man’s own, he could not for his soul give it
“ out in odious and suitable gestures; but the
“ common people, who are hurried by sensible
“ objects without reflection, catch at the actor
“ for the murderer and the villain. They do
“ not consider, a man personates, and revenge
“ themselves in the imagination upon the imme-
“ diate offender; they carry this distaste to an
“ aversion for a man’s person, in all the indif-
“ ferent circumstances of life.”

This was the main of the CHIT-CHAT I met
with where you commanded me to visit; and I
could not but reflect with some gravity upon
the ill consequence of doing unacceptable things,
however laudable it may be in him who under-
takes them; and I hope, Madam, I shall have
your good will in proportion to the dislike I am
sure to meet with for the just representations I
make

“ pursuing a diversion in itself indifferent ; her
“ danger is no less than that of the loss of her
“ honour, of herself ; and she is relieved by
“ an artful turn in the Play, and cured of the
“ folly that led her into it. You know, Madam,
“ I who am a professed admirer of SHAKESPEAR
“ and of his plays, think OTHELLO the nearest
“ a perfect piece ; when I say a *perfect* piece, I
“ speak a little in the style of a Critic, and have
“ some dramatic rules at heart more than it is for
“ the interest of SHAKESPEAR his readers should
“ regard. I have engaged several ladies of my
“ acquaintance to bespeak this Play ; upon which
“ occasion we sent for Mr. CIBBER, to know
“ whether we could have it acted. It was a
“ lady, who has very deservedly much power in
“ town, asked for this Tragedy ; but we were
“ mightily surprized to observe the coldness
“ with which he received her commands. He
“ easily took notice of a resentment in her upon
“ it, and excused himself by saying, ‘ There was
“ nobody but *him* to act IAGO.’ She answered,
“ ‘ Why, Mr. CIBBER, I liked you mightily in
“ it.’ ‘ So great an honour as this,’ he replied,
“ ‘ makes some recompence for the ill-will I
“ have gained among our common audience for
“ the many ill actions I have done under cha-
“ racters of that sort.’ We laughed at his dis-
“ tress ; but he insisted upon it, that it had a
“ very

“ very important ill effect upon his own little
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“ objects without reflection, catch at the actor
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“ themselves in the imagination upon the imme-
“ diate offender; they carry this distaste to an
“ aversion for a man’s person, in all the indif-
“ ferent circumstances of life.”

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with where you commanded me to visit; and I
could not but reflect with some gravity upon
the ill consequence of doing unacceptable things,
however laudable it may be in him who under-
takes them; and I hope, Madam, I shall have
your good will in proportion to the dislike I am
sure to meet with for the just representations I
make

make to you, of persons whom any of my readers may believe they resemble.

Mrs. THIMBLE has been at my lodgings this morning, and threatens me with nothing less than sword and pistol, from some Bravoes in her interest, for discovering her charitable sharing her friend Mr. CHARLES. The whole Sisterhood are alarmed at it; but as it has not abated, but rather increased the number of Mrs. THIMBLE's customers, if she takes the law of me, she will be at a loss to prove damages. I could not have got her out of my lodgings this morning, but that she is in constant fear some of her maids should attend when Mr. CHARLES calls.

I cannot at present furnish out such a quantity of TITTLE-TATTLE as you expect from me, without falling upon the common topick of those that want discourse, talking of the weather; but it supplied me with an accident to-day, which I was wishing I could represent to you. You know Mr. DOUGHTY, who is the most supercilious, haughty, disdainful, and bloated proud rogue in the universe. Our familiar friend, JACK HANDCUFF, is his mortal aversion. I saw them meet to-day in the Piazza of Covent-Garden; it gave me an idea I had never before had, that a proud fellow suffers more than all the rest of the species in cold weather, DOUGHTY
looked

looked directly forward, and strove to overlook him; but that was impossible, for JACK seized him, and expresses a thousand familiar satisfactions in meeting him. Upon the surly dumbness and strange look of DOUGHTY full upon him, JACK begins to enquire with much solicitation about his health; "for," said he, "methinks "you look thinner than you had used to do."

DOUGHTY, shrinking with cold, and fretting with pride, disabled his features from expressing their usual haughtiness, so that he became the pity of him that was his scorn.

I passed by them in this aspect, wondering with myself, that all common sufferings, even that of the season and weather, does not raise in men common benevolence. At this time of the year, were I to acquaint you with the miserable objects I pass by, ready to die away in the midst of health for meer cold and hunger, it would too nearly touch your generous and affectionate temper, which I know has moved you at the approaching festival to make provision for the distressed of your indigent neighbours. But I grow grave, and forget that doing you justice on this head would be a satire upon the generality of those in your condition. Every body is preparing to repeat with fresh vigour in the new year the follies and vanities which make up the account
of

of the old one. MARCIA has these thirty years appeared in the same colours for which she was so much commended at five and twenty. We every year alter ; but none but such as you, who have a pleasure in expecting to change life itself for a better, can, maugre all the mortifications that every body meets with, believe they abate in their appearance from what they were under thirty.

Your Cousin ANDREW carried the letter of recommendation to him who is so able at this time to serve him, but has waited to no purpose, after many ambiguous and general protestations and promises of kindness. He is in a very sullen way, and was murmuring among a set of his friends, the other night, at a man who was so much obliged, and had it so much in his power to serve him. Your uncle, who deals mightily in Proverbs and Stories, told him, “ He must not be angry at the Gentleman, for it was “ the mill that did it.” We wanted his meaning, and he told us the following story. “ A country “ fellow carrying a sack of wheat to the mill, met “ the miller going out upon some extraordinary “ occasion ; but the peasant, being his friend, “ he gave him the key of the mill, and desired “ him to grind his corn himself, and throw the “ toll, due for grinding into a tub he would see “ hard-by

"hard-by him: The next time they met, the
 "countryman thanked him for his kindness,
 "and being but a fresh rogue, took the miller
 "aside and begged his pardon, for that instead
 "of putting the corn he desired him into the
 "tub, he had taken twice as much out of the
 "tub to put into his own sack. The miller
 "smiled, and said, it was not you but the mill
 "that did it; it is the nature of that engine to
 "make men rogues as soon as they come into
 "the mill, whatever they were before they en-
 "tered. I am, Madam,

"Your most obedient humble servant."

N^o 3. Friday, December 30, 1715.

M A D A M;

IT is so hard a task to tell you all that passes
in Town, that whatever your design was in
 laying upon me this command, you must be
 contented, instead of hearing of all that comes
 to light between Knightsbridge and Stepney,
 and St. George's-Fields and Hogsdon, to know
 only what occurs to me, who dwell among the
 inhabitants within that length and breadth; but

D.

in

in obedience to you, I always pass my time and converse with a view to the duty you have laid upon me; and have it constantly in my thoughts how the representation of the present instant will please a friend at a distance, for whom I have so great a value. But I find I must be very careful how I set my mind in a morning, if I would be able to make an agreeable rehearsal to you of the occurrences of the day; for the temper with which a man first leaves his lodging, in a great measure determines what shall please or displease till the sun goes down. I often begin my day with reading. It would be needless to tell you the names of great authors with whom I have been lately delighted; but I was particularly pleased with the praise of a Divine PHILOSOPHER, whom one of my books commends for being the first who laboured to make wisdom consist in practical things, and by whose means Philosophy, which was before conversant in enquiries after hidden, and perhaps useless truths, became useful for our conduct in ordinary life, and the common tract of business, however exalted or humble were men's occupations: his great employment was, to enquire into the sources of virtue and vice, and what was good and evil in itself, and consequently to be pursued or avoided; matters of meer science, he was apt to believe, did not at

all concern us ; or, in instances where it was argued they did, he could be brought to value them no farther than as they promoted worthy actions. The followers of this great man made nature their guide, in pursuing an innocent, a pleasant, a virtuous, or a glorious life ; and they observed, that men arrived at these according as they were qualified by nature for them, or as they improved or vitiated her endowments by sloth or vice, industry or virtue : they distinguished the gifts of the body from the faculties of the mind : some bodily gifts, they noted were general, others, particular ; the general were health, strength, and beauty ; the particular were, having their senses entire, and an excellence in some one or other organ ; as, swiftness in the feet, strength in the hands, tone in the voice, and distinct articulation of sounds in the tongue. As to the gifts of the mind, they apprehend nothing to be such, but what was employed, or naturally tended to make men virtuous. I cannot give you any words which express the requisites there wanted to promote this end better than those of Genius and Memory ; by the help of which, under the check of good sense, men became accomplished : they laid no great stress or value upon capacity only to be good, but faculties exerted to worthy purposes was virtue.

Man, according to these Sages, was born a citizen, by nature obliged to the offices and duties of social life : to keep this alive in him, and to act according to this natural obligation, ought to be his first endeavour ; to be more or less able to obey this dictate, were the reasons, and the only reasons, why a wise and good man should put a value upon Riches, Glory, Fame, and Power ; these things were chiefly to be regarded, which gave most pleasure to the soul, and appeared greatest to the mind, from their own nature ; and which to enjoy, the senses were only servants, and not companions of the pleasure. Solid Virtue and true Honour cannot be obtained without the senses ; but after they have conveyed the notices which lead to them, the mind only is gratified in the enjoyment of them. It was from these reflections they acquired a contempt of Pleasure, and an ambition to undertake great and honourable actions, which agreed with their notions of Virtue ; and from hence it was, that Friendship was born, and Justice and Equity became the love and admiration of mankind : Glory, by this means, took place of Pleasure, and was preferred to the many seeming advantages of life.

While I was writing down these generous hints, to make part of my present epistle, Cousin

ARTHUR

ARTHUR came in to me, and observing the book that lay before me, told me, "I must lay it aside, and go with him to visit a place which owed to Philosophy the greatest benefits of ordinary life; for now at last is it a truth," said he, "that the Wise Man, or the Philosopher, can do every thing. Come," said he, "do not let us stand shivering here in December; but go with me, and I will carry you to May-day within this half-hour." I looked him in the face. "ARTHUR," said I, "thou enjoyest more changes than any man upon earth, besides thyself, who is in his senses."

He did not think me worth a reply, but bid my servant order the coach to turn, then began to explain himself. "I know you wise fellows have very little regard for us active and vivacious spirits; therefore I will not be beholden to you for giving me any credit, but shall carry you to a place where you will think yourself enchanted; for by going up but one pair of stairs, you shall be conveyed into quite another region and climate, and see as agreeable company as any of your acquaintance, and those of your acquaintance in the alacrity and indolence which is bestowed by a temperate clime. All that vexes me," said he, "is, that I should be out of countenance to

“ introduce you in that thick *Drap de Berry*;
 “ you see this upper coat that I have on myself,
 “ I can easily throw off; and I am here in this
 “ fine camlet, and in a figure fit to pass my time
 “ among rustling filks, and playing of fans, and
 “ fit for the agility which will be required from
 “ the invitation of a summer’s evening, which
 “ we design this shall be, among so many gentle-
 “ men and ladies.”

I let him talk on, and took coach with him,
 telling him, “ I thought the inhabitants of this
 “ new region would easily excuse one who
 “ you might assure them lived in the latitude
 “ of London, and did not expect to be intro-
 “ duced into Fairy-ground, at least before he
 “ was warm in bed again.”—“ Well,” said he,
 “ I know you are an Infidel; but I am carrying
 “ you to a very large apartment, in which there
 “ is a room, finished in such a manner, that
 “ through imperceptible passages in the mould-
 “ ings of it, fresh air is always admitted; but
 “ before it is so, it is warmed to what degree
 “ of heat shall be called for. This is performed
 “ by secret meanders in the structure of the
 “ chimney, and was contrived by the direction
 “ of that excellent philosopher Mr. DESAGU-
 “ LIERS *.”

* This paragraph led to a curious altercation of which the particulars
 may be seen in TOWN-TALK, N^o VII.

We are now arrived at the place of entertainment ; and the good company flocked about us as if I were just landed from *Iceland* or *Greenland*. A very particular young lady, who has been extremely commended for her wit, which is generally only animal life in her, came up to me with a very obliging air ; and taking me by the hand, told me, “ I should be extremely
 “ welcome to the gentleman who commanded
 “ there, if I would give him an account by
 “ what adventures I was so safely arrived
 “ from the *Frigid Zone* to this temperate
 “ region, and, with a very grave air, welcomed
 “ me to *Naples*. You are clad Sir, in the
 “ *Russian* habit, but I shall not forestall your
 “ story.”

When I stood in some amazement, she gave me to understand, “ That this city or territory
 “ was anciently called *Patbenope*, and was celebrated by the poets, as made for pleasure,
 “ softness, and tranquillity.” Upon which she falls back, and at a proper distance, assuming an air of one speaking a prologue, with a most janty courtesy, she repeats with her eyes full upon mine, in praise of the place wherein I was to understand I was received,

“ These are the gentle seats that I propose,

“ And not cold *Scythia*’s undissolving snows.

D-4

“ Here

" Here hush'd in calms, the bordering Ocean laves

" Her silent coast, and rolls in languid waves.

" Refreshing winds the summer heats assuage,

" And kindly warmth disarms the winter's rage.

" Remov'd from noise and the tumultuous war,

" Soft Sleep and downy Ease inhabit there,

" And dreams unbroken with intruding care."

It was of no consequence with her that she injured fine Poetry, in leaving out what she pleased, and repeating *here* for *there*, and the like; for she is in that time of life wherein every thing *becomes* that is not in itself distasteful; and a beautiful woman need not be exact to be pleasing.

She had no sooner done repeating, but she took me by the hand, and conducted me to the upper end of the room, where was placed my ancient friend Mr. JOHNSON, in his armed chair, and one leg before him on a stool. You must have heard me speak of him formerly, as a man of the most prudent good-nature and generosity which the age has produced. He it seems, having heard that the Philosopher above-mentioned professed to make an apartment to what degree warm he pleased, had the best in his house disposed according to his direction, and first employed it to divert his family, and receive the acquaintance of his sons,

and

and pretenders to his daughters in a mixed assembly these holidays. Mr. JOHNSON has a very ample fortune, and a numerous family: his eldest son, now at age, and his daughter marriageable. It is impossible to observe that he has a greater regard for one than another; for there is not one of them that cannot have easy access even to his purse in any thing that may be for their use or service; provided he does not by his own fancy, in conformity to their desires, think better for them than they do themselves. This is very often the case, and they apply to him, from knowing his facility, rather as asking his advice in laying out money, than desiring money itself. All his children know the strength of his purse; and his kindness and justice is such, that they consult one another to know whether the inclinations of one of them may not make it uneasy to him to gratify another. Thus he is sure all the children have agreed to what any one of them desires of him: he is always ready to supply them, and they as industrious to convert that supply into pleasures whereof he may be a partaker. Therefore this artful room was first devoted to innocent mirth, wherein this excellent father was to prescribe; and Cousin ARTHUR kept his word in promising I should be brought into company I should think agreeable. It was a satisfaction to Mr. JOHNSON to see me there;

there ; and pointing to the next chair, I drew it near his armed one. When I was seated, the company went to their different entertainments, and left us to talk of themselves, or any thing else that should occur.

I made my friend compliments upon the happiness of his temper ; “ that though he had now “ the remains of a gouty fit upon him, he could “ cast off all sourness so well, as to take delight “ in being present at the pleasures of young “ people.”—“ Sir,” replied he, “ I think it as “ much a part of life to look on now with equanimity, as it was to act my part ambitiously “ in the pleasures my fortune offered me at “ the years my son is of now. You shall stay “ dinner, and this day you must be of my “ family.”

I did not make much difficulty of passing my time in so good company. The day passed as it usually does in the midst of feasting, without much enjoyment of each other’s company ; but repast, if taken moderately, exhilarates the spirits for mirth ; and all the company seemed to have had that in view by the appearance they made by candle-light ; for you could see a complacency in every face, as if they united rather to receive their satisfaction from what they see pleasing in others, than from any boisterous exultation in themselves.

You

You must know, cousin ARTHUR began the ball, and took out Mrs. BIDDY, the third daughter of Mr. JOHNSON. He is, you will allow, a most graceful dancer, and being very much himself when he dances from the exactness of his ear, his motions are most exquisitely pleasing to the spectator, and the lady who dances with him. What makes me admire him of all the young men I have seen is, that he has the look of a Brother to his partner, rather than that of a Lover. He had a most obliging care to make Mrs. BIDDY recover from a downcast air she gave herself, by hinting to her in dumb shew that little fault, with a smile and a nod of the head, which begged her pardon. It was delightful to see the old man in his chair so much concerned in the matter, and shew an earnestness next to motion to the tune. I asked him, " who " that gentleman was that fate over against us, " not much pleased with this part of the entertainment." He answered, " He is a near relation of mine ; he minds nothing but business, and does not understand the importance " of trifles. I mean," continued he, " my kinsman does not understand that it is necessary " to make young people know how to do these " things gracefully ; and yet at the same time " know it is a trifle when they have excelled in " it. When young people learn them with that " sense

“ sense of them, they are delighted while they
“ learn, and are not vain when they are perfect.
“ It is easily to be seen who of the company
“ had this notion of the matter when they were
“ taught; you see there is not that ridiculous
“ awe and seriousness which appears in those
“ whom it costs labour and thought to whisk
“ about a room. The ease and tranquillity of
“ the mind shew themselves in graceful and free
“ motion.”

I took an occasion to saunter round the room, and throw myself in the way of the company in the intervals from dancing. Fine Mrs. DIM-PANY asked me for your Ladyship, with a thousand other questions I knew not how to resolve. She keeps up her humour of pretending to wit and a spice of learning. She said, “ You would be surprized to hear we had met
“ at *Naples*; and desired me to say she was
“ mightily diverted with the *Hecatombs*;” (she would, I suppose, have said the *Catacombs*.) You are not to wonder that the particularity of being in so hard a season removed from the severities of it, kept the company together most of the night. The invention which is brought to this perfection by Mr. DESAGULIERS is what I know will be an entertaining piece of news to you; for me there could not be a thing more to be wished, especially to us *Islanders*, than
that

that without motion you might enjoy the air of any country without the trouble of sailing or travelling to it. Add to this, that it is always fresh; and for that reason, beside the pleasures it affords to men in health, it administers new life to the sick and decrepid, who often perish for the want of this sole convenience of going into better air. You are to know also that the gentleman acknowledges the first invention to a French Author who has written a tract upon the subject, and a partner of that Author is come into England to claim the benefit of it. Our countryman has the candour to admit his pretensions even to his improvements, from the respect he pays to Art, provided he performs the work of which he asserts himself the Inventor.

I cannot leave off talking of Mr. JOHNSON'S room. Whether it was the natural effect of the serene season which Art had introduced in his apartment, or that his own influence over the company had diffused his temper into young and old, I know not; but never was there an evening passed by a whole assembly, that ever I saw in England before, where there was nothing surprizing, but all delightful. You would have thought yourself in a dream, or that you were beholding a picture of what should be pleasure. But I fear the Philosophy I was reading in the morning had some effect upon me in all I had
to

to do with the next four-and-twenty hours ; for it was a very hard thing to put me in a rapturous way. Otherwise I cannot but own to you, that if I had seen any of the Nymphs which I met at *Naples*, even in our cold climate at *High Mall*, I could not have been so unconcerned a spectator as I was at Mr. JOHNSON'S.

I was mightily pleased with a circumstance which happened that night. There was a letter some way or other conveyed into the sleeve of the youngest daughter : she brought it to her father to peruse ; told him, “ she knew no one “ was to be there that night but what was “ proper for her to receive an overture from ; ” said, “ she would answer it ; and desired his advice what it should be.” This communication of councils even in such a particular, and her declaration at first, “ she would answer it,” is what I take so much notice of. Mrs. JOHNSON talks of sending her son abroad to be a fine gentleman, and says, “ he shall live some days “ in every climate with her, before he sets out, “ for fear he should catch the small-pox *, in his “ enquiries after knowledge in post-chaises in “ foreign countries.”

I think I have almost written my quantity of words to you ; but as you are not always to

* Before the fortunate discovery of Inoculation, this apprehension was a very serious concern.

expect

expect matter in them, I think it but reasonable that you should have them sometimes in manuscript; and that the want of sense may be recommended by the brightness and fairness of the character and sand. Expect then, to have very soon a Letter of Love from me; for I have just now sent me a fine ink, which the author calls the PERSIAN Ink *; and that not without a conceit; for it is, like their Laws, “unalterable, “and not to be obliterated;” and, it seems, forty of the best judges in Ink justify it to be the best; you may be sure he means the best judges in Ink, the Wits at BUTTON’S. If you can forgive all this impertinenc, the next nonsense you have shall be “in amorous style much “esteemed,” according to Mr. AUSTIN this famous inventor, “by curious Writers;” and I hope you will not doubt of the truth of my heart from “the Artificial Sand,” which is all that you will ever find to have any false glittering that comes from, Madam,

Your most devoted humble servant.

* “The PERSIAN-INK POWDER and the INK-POWDER; the inventor, JAMES AUSTIN, Haberdasher, gives it the name of PERSIAN-INK, it being like their laws unalterable and not to be obliterated; above 40 of the best judges in Ink have signed a certificate to justify it to be the best yet made; Sold in 6d. and 12d. bottles, and in Powder at the usual prices. N. B. AUSTIN makes a fine black glittering Sand, much esteemed by curious Writers, and far exceeding any other Artificial Sand.” ADVERTISEMENT in the Original TOWN-TALK, in 4to.

Friday,

N^o IV. Friday, January 6, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

WE were the other day a large company of us at Mr. JOHNSON's, where as it usually happens in an assembly made up of people of the first understanding, when they sit long together, and close in conversation, the discourse began to fix to a point. A gentleman in the company, particularly nice in his discerning, happened to say, " That there was a distinction in the choice of the virtues which men ought to practise in the eye of the world; and that choice should be determined by a man's circumstance and character : for," continued he, " fortune being the common distinction amongst men, they who have the largest share of it take a secret offence against those who would set up a distinction superior to it ; and," consequently, set up a greatness in despising that which only the generality of the world call greatness. For this reason, men of wealth and power usually contemn and suppress men of low fortunes, who have qualities that would better besit the condition of their superiors.

" HORACE,

"HORACE * observes very prettily upon this
 "littleness of spirit in mankind; and says, that
 "he who gives himself airs of being anxious
 "for the common-wealth, or the building of
 "churches, puts every man upon the enquiry
 "of what family were his father and mother †."

Your cousin ARTHUR, who will let no one
 have all the talk to himself, but has a good
 civil way of taking it from another, said, "You
 "put me in mind, Sir, of what happened in
 "May last, in the celebration of his Majesty's
 "birth-day. Mr. DOGGET the player, who has
 "very good sense ‡, and always distinguished
 "himself as far as the circumstances of his life
 "would admit, took upon him to celebrate that
 "day in an uncommon but proper manner.
 "He gave out upon the river, some days before,
 "that there should be two compleat dresses,
 "with a sum of money; for two watermen
 "of such an age and character, who should
 "first arrive; setting out at London Bridge, at

* 1 Sat. vi. 34—37.

† "If noisy Tom should in the Senate prate;

"That he would answer both for Church and State;

"All mortals must be curious to enquire,

"Who could this coxcomb be, and who his fire?" SWIFT.

‡ Of which he about this time gave a solid proof, by marrying a
 widow with 20,000*l*. See more of him in STEELE'S Epistolary Cor-
 respondence, vol. I p: 93 On the same, or a similar plan, Dogget estab-
 lished a fund for the encouragement of watermen, that still subsists; and
 prizes provided from his endowment are rowed for annually.

“ the boat in which he and two or three of his
 “ friends sat, with the reward ready for the
 “ victors, over-against Vaux-Hall.

“ Never was there greater alacrity shewn than
 “ during this contention, from the river covered
 “ with boats, and the shore crowded also with
 “ spectators. The huzzas from all parts were
 “ LONG LIVE KING GEORGE ! And the happy
 “ men who won the prizes received them from
 “ the generous patriot and subject with this
 “ honest exhortation, ‘ Be thankful for your
 “ King and your Liberty !’

“ When the prizes were received, the accla-
 “ mation was as loud as at an ancient Roman
 “ *Naumachia*, and there wanted nothing to make
 “ this as well received as it deserved, but that
 “ it came from one with whom men had been
 “ delighted in another idea, and from whom
 “ mens prejudices prevented the reception of
 “ any thing that was sublime.”

A third young man, whose name I do not
 know, but is one of those superficial animals to
 whom it is a misfortune to be bred Scholars,
 having a mind to shine in his turn on this
 subject, interrupted Mr. ARTHUR, and, with
 a more exalted tone and style, began to prove
 what was no way doubtful, by quotations no
 way necessary.

“ Ho-

"HORACE *," says he, "whom I think," he adds, pointing to the first speaker, "this gentleman named just now,

"*Meliri se quemque suo modulo ac pede, verum est* †."

Mr. ARTHUR reassumed the discourse, being, it seems, a friend to the gentleman, who knew not how to bear his learning, and proceeded to inform us, that he ended the evening of the last Birth-day at an entertainment in York-Buildings, where the Patentee of the Royal Company of Comedians celebrated the festival at an expence not often to be repeated by a man of the greatest fortune; but which, all the performers in it being volunteers, was much below what some with a kind, and others with a malicious design, reported it. But I mention it now in pursuance of what my learned friend there said from HORACE, "That every man should take care to avoid expences above their character and circumstances." The sanguine temper which precipitates people into excesses of that sort was most admirably rallied in an Epilogue alluding to many incidents in the life and conduct of the founder of the feast, Sir RICHARD STEELE.

* 1 Ep. vii. 78.

† "We all shall surely find,

"That the best station which best suits our mind. J. DUNCOMBE.

You know ARTHUR is remarkable for speaking and reading verses with a good air and accent; and that design of YORK BUILDINGS being soon to be put in execution, we were very curious to know any thing that passed there. After a little hesitation and musing—"Since," said he, "I know none of this company was here to see Mr. WILKS speak that celebrated Epilogue, quite out of the strain of an actor, but infinitely better than any thing he ever performed on the stage, I shall venture to repeat it."

He was going to do so; when a Lady, with a side-bow, begging ARTHUR's pardon for the interruption, desired of Mr. JOHNSON, whom she knew well acquainted with the Undertaker, to give her some notion of the project to be put in execution there, before she heard what passed in it on the Birth-day. To whom, Mr. JOHNSON; "The Disposition, which you call a Project, has nothing in it more chimerical than to suppose that there are two hundred persons in this town, who will be glad to meet, when they are summoned, to be entertained for two hours and a half, at a lower expence than seeing an OPERA, with all the pleasures which the liberal and mechanic Arts in conjunction, and in their turn, can produce—Musick, Eloquence, and Poetry, are the powers which do
" most

“ most strongly affect the imagination, and influence the passions of men. The greatest Masters in these Sciences will find their account, in turning their thoughts towards the entertainment of this select assembly, which is to consist of a hundred gentlemen, and as many ladies, of leading taste in politeness, wit, and learning.

“ The apartment for this use is beautifully adorned with paintings of human figures and architecture ; the seats for the audience amphitheatrically built ; the lights and other ornaments disposed also by the most skilful mechanicks in such a manner, that the company themselves necessarily become a more beautiful scene than any they have ever before been presented with elsewhere.

“ Diversions proposed in this undertaking are to consist of the representation of some great incidents in antiquity in the manner in which they were transacted, according to the best information to be obtained from men the most conversant in medals, paintings, history, and philosophy.

“ An improvement of the public taste in pleasures, which is rather corrupted through the insolence of fortune, arising from sensual gratifications, than from want of just conceptions in general in the people of condition,

“ is industriously to be laboured. Most men
 “ know what is right; but they are come into
 “ the practice of the contrary, with a certain
 “ acknowledgement of their being in the wrong,
 “ and contempt of any plan towards amend-
 “ ment. For this reason it seems to be ne-
 “ cessary, that he who would succeed in this
 “ kind of work, should take off all severity
 “ from the method he should propose; and
 “ therefore, this institution or Establishment
 “ is a design to promote virtue by pleasure, and
 “ knowledge by diversion. This Project will
 “ be to the Stage, what an Under-plot is to a
 “ Play. It may unavoidably have a good effect
 “ upon the Theatrical Representations, and
 “ the approbation of persons of genius of
 “ both sexes assembled frequently together may
 “ diffuse itself through the age, and insensibly
 “ correct their false notions of delicacy. The
 “ place prepared for this assembly, and the as-
 “ sembly itself, is called the CENSORIUM.

“ The CENSORIUM, every body knows, is the
 “ organ of sense, as the eye is of sight; and it
 “ seems more proper to use a word, which
 “ implies the *Sentio tantum*, the bare con-
 “ ception of what is presented to the spectator,
 “ rather than any name which in a didactic
 “ manner pronounces what ought to be re-
 “ ceived or rejected.”

Mr.

Mr. JOHNSON paused here, when the agreeable and beauteous AMORET, who is as much more knowing as she is more fair than the rest of her sex, with an irresolute voice asked Mr. JOHNSON, "How it happened, that the undertaker of this design had, against the sense and practice of all other sages who have ever yet appeared in the world, made the presence of Ladies necessary for the promotion of knowledge."

"Madam," replied Mr. JOHNSON, "you may have observed, that diversion was made the instrument of improvement of our minds, according to the plan I said he had laid down. Diversions are never so polite, or under such just regulations, as in a mixed company of men and women, who extremely esteem each other. Prepossession in each other's favour produces an ambition to please; at the same time that they know they cannot do so, but under the restraint of mutual respect. Philosophy in vain attempts contempt of pleasure, which is the gift only of the most sublime and exalted spirits; but it may with much more ease give law and bounds to pleasures, and make us all its followers. An habit contracted from just entertainments, will create a scorn of mean and frivolous ones; and they are much safer from excesses, who

“ get a disrelish for amusements except within
 “ due bounds, than those who being wholly de-
 “ barred from such delights, have an eagerness
 “ for them beyond due limits. Our institution
 “ therefore is to direct not to banish pleasure :
 “ and we who are promoters of the design, do
 “ expect more from the joint endeavours of a
 “ set of learned and well-bred gentlemen, who
 “ take upon them, with the most excellent
 “ performers in their friendship and direction,
 “ to exhibit much more entertaining scenes,
 “ than ever were produced by the Italian
 “ theatre, or any company of actors that have
 “ ever appeared.”

Mr. ARTHUR interposed upon this occasion ;
 and said, “ Mr. JOHNSON, the less expectation we
 “ raise, the more confident may we be of our
 “ success. I wish therefore you would either
 “ yourself, or let me tell the company, how
 “ well we were entertained on the Birth-night.”

“ It will be surprizing,” replied Mr. JOHNSON,
 “ to the company who honoured the undertaker
 “ that evening to hear, that all which they saw
 “ spread before them in the *area* of the CEN-
 “ SORIUM, came within the sum of sixteen
 “ pounds ; but though that had an air of mag-
 “ nificence, the ladies and gentlemen oppositely
 “ disposed, the *Orchestra*, the *Rostrum*, and the
 “ *Throne* so agreeably filled, took up the ex-
 “ pectation,

“ pection, till the Prologue which was very
 “ prettily spoken by Miss YOUNGER, introduced
 “ an ODE, which was admirably performed, in
 “ honour of the KING and Royal Family; and
 “ addressed to the person seated on the Throne,
 “ in the habit and ensigns of Liberty. Cousin
 “ ARTHUR,” said he, “ you shall repeat the
 “ ODE;” which he did, as follows :

“ FREEDOM ! Goddess frank and fair,
 “ Laughter flashing in thy eye ;
 “ Hither through the lightfome Air,
 “ On Thy glossy pinions flie.

“ Songs of joy to THEE we pay,
 “ Thine and CÆSAR’s is the Morn ;
 “ Hail to that auspicious day,
 “ Thou and He at once were born.

“ Laws from armies lately fearing,
 “ Oft we try’d to sing in vain :
 “ Chains by vanquish’d foes preparing,
 “ Mirth was impious, Joy profane.

“ CÆSAR, now the throne possessing,
 “ CAROLINA bright and fair,
 “ With a race of Heroes blessing
 “ ALBION’s young victorious heir.

“ Safely come ; for nought shall harm Thee,
 “ CÆSAR reigning Thou shalt reign ;
 “ Every Muse shall join to charm Thee,
 “ Ever mingling in Thy train.

“ Wealth

" Wealth his golden wings displaying,
 " Plenty with a rowling eye,
 " O'er her cheeks the dimples playing,
 " Hand-in-hand with *THEE* shall lie.
 " *CÆSAR* and his fortune guarding,
 " Hover ever round His throne;
 " So shall He, thy faith rewarding,
 " Smile on *THEE* and *Thine* alone."

The company were extremely pleased with the design, and offered to be subscribers to it. But Mr. JOHNSON informing them it was too late, they desired him to secure them a reversion of such tickets as the present possessors should, by going out of town, or any other accident, not make use of themselves.

He made them that promise, taking their names in a *TATTLE-BOOK* *; "but," says he, "we were not let loose to the Delicacies on the tables before us, till the Epilogue, which *ARTHUR* has also promised to repeat, was spoken by Mr. WILKS in the manner above-mentioned."

"You are to know then," interrupted Mr. *ARTHUR*, "that the undertaker of the *CEN-SORIUM*, who is a comic hero, or familiar sage, seems to expect success in his great enterprizes, by being and bearing any thing with his friends while they are such, and

* *Table-Book.*

" abating

" abating and remitting nothing to his enemies,
 " till they cease to be so. Were not this his
 " turn of mind, it would have been impossible
 " for him to have stood the loud laughter, on
 " the several occasions, wherein WILKS made
 " no scruple of pointing at him, while he spoke
 " the Verses I am now going to recite, without
 " the assistance of the ample and facetious pre-
 " sence of that Philosopher.

EPILOGUE, SPOKEN AT THE CENSORIUM,
 ON THE KING'S BIRTH-DAY.

" THE Sage whose guests you are to-night, is
 " known
 " To watch the public weal, though not his own :
 " Still have his thoughts uncommon schemes pursued,
 " And teen'd with projects for his Country's good.
 " Early in youth, his enemies have shewn,
 " How narrowly he mis'd the Chemic Stone * :
 " Not FRIAR BACON promis'd England more ;
 " Our Artist, lavish of his fancied ore,
 " Could he have brought his great design to pass,
 " Had wall'd us round with Gold instead of Bras.
 " That Project sunk, you saw him entertain
 " A notion more chimerical and vain,

* It is well known that Steele once entertained hopes of being suc-
 cessful in the pursuit of the Philosopher's Stone ; the laboratory was at
 Poplar, and is now converted into a garden-house. In " The British

" Cenfor," a satire published in 1712, he is mentioned as
 " A Chemist now, whose vain projection broke,
 " Was not his sense in part dissolv'd in smoke."

" To

" To give chaste morals * to ungovern'd youth,
 " To Gamesters honesty, to Statelmen truth ;
 " To make you virtuous all ; a thought more bold,
 " Than that of changing Dross and Lead to Gold.
 " But now to greater actions he aspir'd,
 " For still his Country's good our Champion fir'd ;
 " In Treaties vers'd, in Politicks grown wise,
 " He look'd on DUNKIRK † with suspicious eyes ;
 " Into her dark foundations boldly dug,
 " And overthrew in fight the fam'd SIEUR TUGGHE.
 " Still on his wide unwearied view extends,
 " Which I may tell, since none are here but Friends ;
 " In a few months he is not without hope,
 " But 'tis a secret to convert the Pope.
 " Of this however, he'll inform you better,
 " Soon as his Holiness receives his Letter ‡ :
 " Meantime he celebrates, for 'tis his way,
 " With something singular this happy day ;
 " His honest zeal ambitious to approve,
 " For the Great Monarch he was born to love ;
 " Resolv'd in Arms and Arts to do him right,
 " And serve his Sov'reign like a Trusty Knight."

P. S. I send you all the FREEHOLDERS || that
 are come out ; they are very entertaining, honest,
 and instructive.

* TATLER, SPECTATOR, GUARDIAN, LOVER, READER, &c. &c.

† In " The Importance of Dunkirk considered," and " The French
 Faith represented in the present State of Dunkirk."

‡ The Dedication to " An Account of the State of the Roman Ca-
 tholic Religion throughout the World." See " STEELE'S Epistolary
 Correspondence," vol. II. p. 404.

|| Then publishing in periodical Numbers by his friend ADDISON.

Friday,

N^o V. Friday *, January 13, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

YOUR last admonishes me, that it is within the orders you first sent me, that I should send you sometimes some Politic news; but I am very averse to these subjects. However, it has so happened just now, that the TOWN is too busy for Pleasure or Speculation, and all the CHAT is of the PRETENDER. I should never have heard of it, if all this had not been brought to TOWN, and made the whole TALK of it. You remember I told you in my first, that COVENT-GARDEN is the heart of the TOWN, and by that rule, the PLAY-HOUSE is the TOWN-HALL. I must confess, my chief intelligence is in that neighbourhood. I happened to sit near two Courtesans in the first gallery, the other evening, who were warm in politicks. One of them, who I perceived belonged to the party of the Whigs, said “the Pretender was ruined, for

* This number, which instantly passed through three editions, was sold for Six-pence.

“ that

“ that his general MAR *, under pretence of
 “ going to meet him at Peterhead, had left
 “ Perth, and taken an opportunity to make his
 “ escape.” You are to know Madam, that ever
 since MASKS † have been disallowed, an open con-
 fidence has done the same thing, and the wenches
 being impudent and meretriciously dressed, are
 as well known as if they wore the former signal.

A lady of very great fame for her beauty,
 impudence, and something like wit, and from a
 similitude in merit and manners, was particu-
 larly a favourite of the late secretary BOLING-
 BROKE, contradicted the news of the Whig
 Libertine; and indeed, with a superior air, gave
 her to understand, “ that her friend had sent her
 “ a token from France: There, Hussy,” said
 she, “ let any of your queer party answer that,
 “ if they can !”

* John, 18th lord Erskine, and 11th earl of Mar, a man of the most
 shining parts and greatest capacity of most of his contemporaries, was
 one of the sixteen peers of Scotland in the four first British parliaments;
 and one of the principal secretaries of state to Queen Anne. On the
 accession of George I. he was deprived of all his offices, and retiring to
 his estate in the North of Scotland, raised a rebellion in favour of the
 Pretender, whom he proclaimed Sept. 11, 1715, and commanded his
 troops at Sherriff-muir, where he was defeated, and going abroad,
 died at Aix-la-chapelle, 1732. His estate was purchased by his brother
 John's son, who now enjoys it. The Earl was twice married; first, to
 Margaret, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kinnoul, by whom he had
 Thomas Lord Erskine; and secondly, to Frances Pierrepont, sister to
 Evelyn duke of Kingston.

† A *Mask* was long the distinguishing characteristic of a *WOMAN of the
 Town*.

It

It is well known that Statesman and Wit had writ more than songs upon this lady; and she had been his desk to write upon *, in too notorious a manner to describe to you. What she threw at her sister proved to be the PRETENDER's Declaration, which was conveyed from one hand to another the whole evening, till at last it was taken up and carried to a hand which I will not take upon me to name to you, but he has writ a long answer to the *Manifesto*. This letter has in it the Declaration at large, with an antidote to the poison of it; for which reason, enclosing it will entertain you a longer time than any of my former have attempted.

“ To the PRETENDER,

“ SIR,

“ A DISCOURSE your Confessor soon
 “ after my expulsion from Parliament for the
 “ CRISIS had with a friend of mine at Paris,
 “ gives me to understand you are not unacquainted with my name and character; and
 “ therefore you will not be surprized that I
 “ affect to do extraordinary things, however ridiculous or odious I may appear to your
 “ friends, provided that irregularity draws an
 “ attention to what makes for the common
 “ cause, in which I am engaged to the end of

* The writing here alluded to, was signed, it is said, *sur ses belles sœurs*.

“ my

“ my life. I writ lately to the Pope about
 “ the state of Religion; and though I have reason
 “ to fear I have not converted him, I still pro-
 “ ceed in such endeavours; and since you are
 “ now landed in Britain, I take the liberty with
 “ you, his godson, in order to lay before you
 “ the true state of the question between you and
 “ this nation. Whatever wild notions have taken
 “ place amongst us, they have not prevailed so
 “ absolutely as to leave you any probable grounds
 “ of hope, either from right or force.

“ There are, Sir, thousands in England, that
 “ know the basis of all government is the good
 “ of the people governed; and that all incidents
 “ of a state must be rectified by that single rule,
 “ and no other; and that it is an impious and
 “ prophane thought to believe any other maxim to
 “ be consonant to the Goodness of the CREATOR,
 “ and that law of nature which he has implanted
 “ in the mind of every man living. According
 “ to this, the late King James was expelled
 “ Scotland, and himself, by his crimes and flight,
 “ abdicated England. He took you, it seems,
 “ with him at that time, and bred you in the
 “ Roman Catholick religion; from which par-
 “ ticular of your Faith, were I to admit that
 “ you are his son, which I do not in the least
 “ regard whether you are or not, you would
 “ (besides all other disadvantages from what has
 “ passed

“ passed since) be at best, in a worse condition
 “ than he was, when the Bill of Exclusion
 “ against him was brought into Parliament.
 “ That bill was offered when he was only sus-
 “ pected to be what you do not in the least deny
 “ yourself to be. His conduct in the throne,
 “ by no means gives us good expectations from
 “ you; and you cannot be surprized, that after
 “ this experience, we do all in our power to
 “ keep out you, who have no pretence but that
 “ of being his son, with a profession of faith that
 “ had like to have barred him himself, under
 “ whom you claim. Sir, you may depend
 “ upon it, we think our lives in less hazard with
 “ our swords in our hands against you, than if
 “ we should be at your mercy from a throne.

“ Had the gentleman who sent you to France,
 “ left you in safe hands behind him; if you had
 “ appeared his innocent child, your case had
 “ been before the nation, as an object of com-
 “ passion, and Justice must have been una-
 “ voidably done on that occasion; but your
 “ patron either knew you to be none of his, or
 “ else was very indiscreet to carry you to be
 “ unqualified for the prince of a Protestant
 “ people, when he knew he owed his own
 “ Crown to the dissimulation of his religion, and
 “ his loss of empire to the profession of it. *The*
 “ *business of mankind cannot stand still, if Princes*

*“ by their unhappy conduct render it unsafe for them
“ to remain at the head of their subjects, and what-
“ ever has befallen you, you are to attribute to your
“ Pretended Father, not his people, who by his
“ flight with you, were under a necessity to fly to the
“ nearest refuge. You have not so much as
“ pretended to be a Protestant, and we very
“ well know, that if you should pretend it, it
“ would be only a pretence; we know, that
“ coming as you do, a professed Papist, you
“ are bound in Conscience, under pain of Dam-
“ nation, to propagate your religion; not by all
“ fair, but by all possible means, and conse-
“ quently, that you will stand for ever bound
“ under the same pain of Damnation, which
“ your Priests will constantly thunder in your
“ ears to take away, as fast as you can have
“ power so to do, not only the estates and li-
“ berties, but the lives of all who will not be-
“ come Papists, and that in the most cruel
“ manner, for an example to others.*

*“ The most solemn Promises and Oaths,
“ which you would be so gracious as to make,
“ will be in themselves, according to your re-
“ ligion, unlawful and null. We have Examples
“ of this in all times and places, you are not to
“ depend on certain persons, whom you think to
“ swear against their consciences to the present
“ establishment. They do not mean Popery for
“ your*

“ your sake, but they would be contented to
 “ have it in themselves by your means; as
 “ you would swear to them till you carry
 “ your point, so they would swear to you to
 “ carry theirs. But when Popish ministers of
 “ the Church of England should feel your su-
 “ perstition, by displacing them for your down-
 “ right Roman Catholick priests, they would
 “ become in an instant, entire Protestants, as
 “ they are now but partially such, and abhor
 “ all unreasonable doctrines and impositions
 “ more heartily than ever Luther did, till they
 “ were re-instated in their livings.

“ This I tell you as a truth you may depend
 “ upon; but lest you should no more mind me
 “ than that graceless wretch the Pope * has, I
 “ must go on to tell you, that we will take all
 “ possible means to prevent your power to hurt
 “ us. We have read of inquisitions and mas-
 “ sacres, and are too lately escaped from the
 “ danger of universal slaughter, to trust to what
 “ we must expect from you. This we know to
 “ be our only time to stand our ground. When
 “ you come we know the calamity will be final,
 “ but we have no reason to fear it, but as a just
 “ judgment upon those who call themselves
 “ Protestants, for their thirst of Popish power
 “ and dominion over their Protestant brethren.
 “ We know who shall be found opposing you,

* To whom STAZZLE had then lately addressed a Letter. See p. 60.

“ will not be used like those who are now re-
 “ belling against King George. Those moderate
 “ laws, which give every criminal all possible
 “ advantage to make whatever defence their
 “ case can admit, will cease when you conquer ;
 “ and we shall be executed, nay extirpated sum-
 “ marily, without justice, or form of law. In the
 “ time of king James, we saw numbers who had
 “ been deceived into pleading Guilty, upon pro-
 “ mise of pardon, were hanged up as soon as they
 “ had done what entitled them to that pardon”.

While I was now writing, your Declaration has come into my hands ; the very first paragraph discovers the specious and wordy style of our late Secretary *, who foresaw he should be a refugee ; and a refugee without religion, is a very proper minister to a bigot ; for Infidelity will no doubt execute, without remorse, the dictates of Superstition. An old friend of Mr. Secretary’s shews it about as a piece of wit and eloquence of her gallant, and swears we are blockheads if we are not converted by it. I shall recite it, lest you should accuse me of misrepresentation.

“ J A M E S VIII. by the Grace of God, of
 “ Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, King,
 “ Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving

* BOLINGBROKE ; Secretary during the four last years of Q. Anne.

“ subjects

“ subjects of what degree or quality soever,
 “ greeting. As W_E are firmly resolved never
 “ to lose any opportunity of asserting our un-
 “ doubted title to the Imperial Crown of
 “ these realms, and of endeavouring to get the
 “ possession of that right which is devolved
 “ upon Us by the laws of God and Man; so
 “ must W_E, in justice to the sentiments of our
 “ own heart, declare; That nothing in the world
 “ can give Us so great satisfaction, as to owe to
 “ the endeavours of our loyal subjects both our
 “ own and their restoration to that happy settle-
 “ ment, which can alone deliver this church and
 “ nation from the calamities which they lie at
 “ present under, and from those future miseries
 “ which must be the consequences of the present
 “ usurpation. During the life of our dear sister
 “ of glorious memory, the happiness which our
 “ people enjoyed, softened in some degree, the
 “ hardship of our own fate; and W_E must further
 “ confess, that when we reflected on the good-
 “ ness of her nature, and her inclination to
 “ justice, we could not but persuade ourself,
 “ that she intended to establish and perpetuate
 “ the peace which she had given to these king-
 “ doms, by destroying for ever, all competition
 “ to the succession of the crown, and by *con-*
 “ *senting* to Us, at last, the enjoyment of that
 “ inheritance out of which W_E had been so long
 “ kept, which her conscience must inform her

“ was our due, and which her principles must
“ lead her to desire that W^E might obtain. But
“ since the time, it pleased God to put a period
“ to her life, and not to suffer Us to throw our-
“ self, as W^E then firmly purposed to have done,
“ upon our people; W^E have not been able to
“ look upon the present condition of our king-
“ doms, or to consider their future prospect,
“ without all the horror or indignation which
“ ought to fill the breast of every Scotf-
“ man. W^E have beheld a foreign family,
“ aliens to our country, distant in blood, and
“ strangers even to our language, ascend the
“ throne. W^E have seen the reins of govern-
“ ment put into the hands of a faction, and that
“ authority which was designed for the protec-
“ tion of all, exercised by a few of the worst,
“ to the oppression of the best and greatest
“ number of our subjects. Our Sister has not
“ been left at rest in her grave, her name has
“ been scurrilously abused, her glory as far as
“ in these people lay, insolently defaced, and
“ her faithful servants inhumanly persecuted.
“ A Parliament has been procured by the most
“ unwarrantable influences, and by the grossest
“ corruptions, to serve the vilest ends; and they,
“ who ought to be the guardians of the liber-
“ ties of the people, are become the instru-
“ ments of tyranny; whilst the principal powers,
“ engaged

“ engaged in the late wars, do enjoy the blessings
 “ of peace, and are attentive to discharge their
 “ debts, and ease their people, Great-Britain, in
 “ the midst of peace, feels all the loads of war.
 “ New debts are contracted, new armies are
 “ raised at home, Dutch forces are brought
 “ into these kingdoms, and by taking possession
 “ of the dutchy of Bremen, in violation of the
 “ public faith, a door is opened, by the Usur-
 “ per, to let in an inundation of foreigners from
 “ abroad, and to reduce these nations to the
 “ state of a province, to one of the most incon-
 “ siderable provinces of the empire.

“ These are some few of the many real evils
 “ into which these kingdoms have been be-
 “ trayed, under pretence of being rescued and
 “ secured from dangers purely imaginary ; and
 “ these are such consequences of abandoning
 “ the old Constitution, as WE persuade ourselves
 “ very many of those who promoted the present
 “ unjust and illegal settlement never intended.

“ WE observe with the utmost satisfaction,
 “ that the generality of our subjects are awakened
 “ with a just sense of their danger, and that they
 “ show themselves resolved to take such measures
 “ as may effectually rescue them from that
 “ bondage which has, by the artifice of a few
 “ designing men, and the concurrence of many
 “ unhappy causes, been brought upon them.

“ WE adore the wisdom of Divine Providence, which has opened a way to our restoration, by the success of those very measures that were laid to disappoint us for ever : and we must earnestly conjure all our loving subjects, not to suffer that spirit to faint or die away, which has been so miraculously raised in all parts of our kingdom ; but to pursue, with all the vigour and hopes of success, which so just and righteous a cause ought to inspire, those methods which the *Finger of God* seems to point out to them.

“ WE are coming to take our part in all the dangers and difficulties to which any of our subjects, from the greatest down to the meanest, may be exposed on this important occasion ; to relieve our subjects in Scotland from the hardships they groan under, on account of the late unhappy union ; and to restore the kingdom to its ancient, free, and independent state. WE have before our eyes the example of our royal grandfather, who fell a sacrifice to rebellion ; and of our royal uncle, who by a train of miracles, escaped the rage of barbarous and blood-thirsty rebels, and lived to exercise his clemency towards those who had waged war against his father and himself ; who had driven him to seek
“ shelter

“ shelter in foreign lands, and who had even set
“ a price upon his head.

“ WE see the same instances of cruelty re-
“ newed against Us, by men of the same prin-
“ ciples, without any other reason than the
“ consciousness of their own guilt, and the im-
“ placable malice of their own hearts : for in
“ the account of such men, it is a sufficient
“ crime to be their king ; but God forbid, that
“ we should tread in these steps, or that the
“ cause of a lawful prince, and an injured
“ people, should be carried on like that of ty-
“ ranny and usurpation, and owe its support to
“ assassins. We shall copy after the patterns
“ above-mentioned, and be ready with the for-
“ mer of our royal ancestors, to seal the cause
“ of our country, if such be the Will of Heaven,
“ with our blood. But WE hope for better
“ things ; WE hope for the latter, to see our just
“ rights, and those of the church and people of
“ Scotland, once more settled in a free and inde-
“ pendent Scots PARLIAMENT, on their ancient
“ foundation ; to such a Parliament, which WE
“ will immediately call, shall WE intirely refer
“ our and their interests, being sensible that
“ these interests rightly understood, are always
“ the same. Let the *Civil*, as well as *Religious*
“ RIGHTS of all our subjects, receive a confir-
“ mation in such a Parliament ; let Consciences
“ truly

“ truly tender be indulged ; let property of
“ every kind be better than ever secured ; let an
“ Act of general Grace and Amnesty extinguish
“ the faults, even of the most guilty ; if possible,
“ let the very remembrance of all which have
“ preceded this happy moment, be utterly
“ blotted out, that our subjects may be united
“ to us, and to each other, in the strictest bonds
“ of affection, as well as interest.

“ And that nothing may be omitted, which
“ is in our power to contribute to this desirable
“ end, WE do, by these presents, absolutely and
“ effectually, for Us, our heirs and successors,
“ pardon, remit, and discharge, all crimes of
“ high-treason, misprision of treason, and all
“ other crimes and offences whatsoever done or
“ committed against us, or our royal Father of
“ blessed memory, by any of our subjects of
“ what degree or quality soever, who shall, at
“ or after our landing, and before they engage
“ in any action against Us, or our forces, from
“ that time, lay hold on mercy, and return to
“ that duty and allegiance they owe to Us, their
“ only rightful and lawful Sovereign.

“ By the joint endeavours of Us, and our Par-
“ liament, urged by these motives, and directed
“ to these views, WE may hope to see the peace
“ and flourishing estate of this kingdom in a
“ short time restored ; and WE shall be equally
“ forward

“ forward to concert with our Parliament such
 “ further measures as may be thought necessary
 “ for leaving the same to future generations.

“ And We hereby require all Sheriffs of Shires,
 “ Stewards of Stewartries, and their deputies,
 “ and magistrates of Burghs, to publish this OUR
 “ *Declaration*, immediately after it shall come
 “ to their hands, in the usual place and manner,
 “ under the pain of being proceeded against for
 “ failure thereof, and forfeiting the benefit of
 “ OUR general pardon.

“ Given under OUR sign-manual and privy-
 “ signet, at our court at Commercy, the
 “ 25th day of October, in the 15th
 “ year of our reign.”

First, You declare you have the goodness to
 be weary of depending on foreign princes, and
 are willing to be one yourself; and are further
 graciously disposed to relieve from *Miseries*, pre-
 sent which we do not feel, and you do not name,
 and future ones, which must be the conse-
 quences of what you call an *Usurpation*.

Secondly, That during the life of the Queen,
 whose reign you allow, was also an *Usurpation*;
 you rested contented, because you believed she
 would take measures for your enjoyment of the
 crown, which you think she must know she did
 guiltily

guiltily detain from you; and since a plan to which you intimate she was privy, of throwing yourself upon the people, is defeated by her death, you are now under an horror and indignation at our present circumstances and prospect.

Thirdly, A foreign family is on the throne, and strangers even to our language.

Fourthly, The administration of the government is in the hands of the worst, to the oppression of the best; that your sister has been insulted in her grave; a Parliament procured by unreasonable influences; new debts contracted; new armies raised; Dutch forces brought in; and the accession of the dutchy of Bremen to our King, is so inconsiderable, that it will reduce us, to appertain to what is inconsiderable.

Fifthly, We have been betrayed instead of being rescued; and these evils wholly owing to abandoning the old Constitution, which many, who promoted the present settlement, you believe, did not intend.

Sixthly, You observe the generality are for you, and grow thankful for the spirit which is miraculously raised in all parts of your kingdom: You are coming to share the dangers which your Scotch subjects groan under from the unhappy *Union*. You place before your eyes,
your

your grandfather who fell, and your uncle who out-lived a price upon his head.

Seventhly, You talk in the pompous style of Mr. Secretary, when he resolved to run for it : Let me, said the pious Churchman, and heroic patriot, be a victim in *Smithfield*, for the cause for which I am proud to fall ; and so got his black peruke and whiskers ready, and went on in the same noble style in France ; but I am going to observations when I am only upon the recital, and should only say, “ *Sic disputas Do-* “ *mine.*” You do not make promises, but use an Imperative ; *Let* Consciences truly tender be indulged ; *Let* Property, and *Let* an Act of Grace.

Eighthly, You absolutely pardon all faults to those who shall come in to you at your landing, and are ready to concert with your Parliament upon all matters ; and so very gravely you sign from our court at Commercy, the 25th day of October, in the fifteenth year of your reign.

The first paragraph of this your *Declaration* is unsupported with any thing so much as specious ; for you roundly assert, that has been largely, and unanswerably denied by the most knowing in our Constitution ; and the practice of all mankind has been, and would not have been otherwise

otherwise than to vary their manner of succession of princes on such exigencies as that at the Revolution ; and to all those arguments I have added, that king James either knew you were not his son, and therefore took you with him, that any arguments for your being supposititious might have less weight in your exile ; or was himself the primary cause of your fate, as you are pleased to call it.

In your second topick you say, you bore with the Queen's enjoyment of your throne, because you expected she would contrive your succession to it, and believe she secretly acknowledged, in her own conscience, your right to it. This is the most vile and barbarous imputation that ever was laid upon any prince either dead or living. This is saying, she was an impostor to her people, and was contented to be so for your service. It is saying, her religion, her oaths, and her royal state, was one continued scene of idolatry towards God, and artifice towards MAN.

Your third observation, That the family on the throne are strangers to our language, is scurrility ; the relation between a prince and his people is not supported by *Conversation*, but the distribution of *Equity* and *Justice* ! And the king expresses an " Heart truly English," when he declares the Constitution the rule of his government, and the integrity of his great mind has been

been evident in all his actions, ever since he condescended to make us that *Declaration*.

Your fourth topick is, That the administration is in the hands of the worst, to the oppression of the best. This is a quaint expression your Secretary HARRY has taken from TACITUS, or some other writer, according to his way of enriching his speech with lively expressions, and neglecting the improvement of his heart and sentiments. This it was that made him a most excellent reviler, while he was with us; and I find he keeps it for your service, to which he indeed applied it while he was here. This charge against the ministers is base and groundless; for there is not one of them who has not distinguished himself before he came to his present station, by brave actions, seasonable service in negotiations, or laudable eloquence in assemblies, as well as that their birth and quality found them among the best of the people. I assure you I speak this very impartially; for whether you know it or no, I fear you will not believe I am the modestest man in England; I have desired only to be in as good preferment as this cause found me when I first commenced grenadier for it, but that cannot it seems be, yet I forgive them for being cold friends to me, for being warm enemies to you *. And you may

* See STEELE's "Letters," vol. I. p. 139; a lamentable Letter of STEELE on this subject, to his wife. By another Letter, p. 120, it appears that he set up all night to prepare this Number of the TOWN-TALK.

please to tell your scribe HARRY, That they are diligent in the administration of public affairs, and have gone a great way in re-building the fabrick from the ruins to which he and his wicked accomplices had reduced it. You say, The parliament was procured by unwarrantable influences. It is confessed, it was not called by your authority. What else you mean I cannot imagine ; for there was not a farthing of public money spent that way ; and if you mean great private expence was made, you see people had rather throw away half their estates to keep you out, than part with the whole by your coming. You shew in your great reach in politicks in complaining, that we are running in debt, and raising armies. I believe you think they are both raised against you. You are offended the King has the dutchy of Bremen. You perhaps think it would be greater generosity to take one that brings us nothing but a new religion, than a protestant prince like ourselves, who is, at once, to this nation, a good and gracious prince, and a rich and powerful ally.

Your fifth complaint is, that we have been betrayed, rather than rescued, and that you are so gracious to believe the ill consequences were not intended. I do not understand this, it is general ; and why you say they who made the settlement did not expect the ill consequences, which

which you intimate are those of not having you our prince, is incomprehensible.

Your sixth assertion is, That there is, in the generality of the people, a spirit raised miraculously for you. It is, indeed, wonderfully, but not miraculously; for they are known by their fruit who brought forth our calamities. A ministry, that came into the service of their country engaged in a war against France and you, being resolved to raise that and bring in you, became, instead of guardians of the people, their betrayers; and with the subserviency of impudent and apostate clergymen, laid the seeds of the present confusion and rebellion. As for your mention of CHARLES the First and Second: The First lost his life, he did so indeed, in a most barbarous and unjust manner, in asserting the constitution, and illegality of the proceedings against him; which can never be your case; for all laws are against you. As to him you call Uncle, he escaped a price on his head; but it behoves you to reflect there is a greater on yours.

Your seventh paragraph evades with a specious skill any binding promises to us, and instead of making them, you say, let them be made. This trick has been already practised by many of your friends. People will make their observations, that your craft is of the same kind.

G

You

You must know there is a canon which directs our Clergy to pray for the King in such and such terms; instead of doing as they are bid, they bid others do it, and repeat the order instead of paying obedience to it; instead of praying themselves, they say to the people, "You shall pray for King GEORGE;" their BIDDING is as loyal, as your LETTING is gracious.

Your eighth common-place is a general amnesty to all that shall run to your colours, and help you forwards upon your arrival. After that, you and your parliament will consider further: What we are to expect from thence give me leave to show you from——But before I go to that, having cast my eye on your date from Commercy, I must observe, that here, and in your style in the first paragraph, you claim France too, for which I hope you will answer on that side of the water, but I am glad to hear you act like an exasperated man against his Royal Highness the Regent. I was going to shew what we were to hope from you, and a parliament of yours, by the treatment the Protestants had from your Pretended father, and his in Ireland. You are pleased to tell us, that if upon your arrival in these realms we submit, you are disposed to receive us in your equipage of subjects, but if not, you in parliament will proceed.

King

King James made a new constitution of corporations, to put in creatures of his own ; the manner of election was, to send together with a writ for election, a letter of recommendation whom to choose. A parliament made in this manner set themselves to root out the whole Protestant interest, by following a general Bill of Attainder against all absent from their houses, whether in arms or employment against him or not, with an Act of Repeal, whereby the real estates of all who “ dwelt or staid in any place “ of the Three Kingdoms, which did not own “ King James’s power, or corresponded with any “ such as they term rebels, or were any ways “ aiding, abetting, or assisting to them from the “ first day of August 1688, are declared to be “ forfeited and vested in his Majesty, and that “ without any office or inquisition found thereof.” By which clause almost every Protestant that could write in the kingdom had forfeited his estate ; for the Packets went from London to Dublin, and back again, constantly from August to March, 1688 ; and few had friends in England, or in the North, but corresponded with them by letters, and every such letter is made by this clause a forfeiture of estate. There is a book amongst us called “ The State of the Protestants of Ireland, under the late King JAMES’s “ Government,” which gives us the most lively

and faithful idea of a Popish Prince over a Protestant people.

This whole Treatise is a preservative against Romish Tyranny, and effectually explains King James's direct intention to destroy his Protestant subjects in their persons, religion, and estates.

In a word Sir, the time is come wherein it begins to be understood no plea in excuse of Treason, that what was done was done under the administration of a Lady who was renowned for goodness and virtue. But you have said more on this subject to us, than any of your friends; you carry it so far as to give us broad hints, that she was privy to designs in your favour. In gratitude to her, if she was, you should have covered this circumstance otherwise. As I have above shown, you out-do all who have attempted to bring her name to dishonour; in proportion that you are above your followers, your testimony is a greater injury than that of any of them. It is certain there has not one man appeared a manifest traitor, but he took refuge under his zeal for her Majesty. One was accused for betraying a town; to which he gave as immediate and direct an answer as ever he did in his life. The Queen, whom I served, was the best of women and of sovereigns. What made this the pleasanter was, that she had before her death discarded him, and her having turned him
off

off seemed to turn her goodness, as well as judgment, against him. If one so good punished him, her virtue certainly made more against him than for him. This Sir, was the style, this the game of cross-purposes, which was used by all and every of your friends, as far as they have been surprized in their iniquities. For all which you have givn us a key; but really Sir, I cannot think this step at all politick in the court of Commercy; for the name of the queen was helpful only, but as from her character she was believed incapable of betraying her people and her religion; and therefore her approbation of their conduct was a cover to it. But if you should bring it to pass that she should be universally thought in the design, you will involve her in the guilt, and consequently have no more advantage from her reputation to protect that conduct which ripened it to what it is.

Upon the whole Sir, under favour of the counsellors of the court of Commercy, this declaration is shallow and superficial; it moves upon hinges, which have long been rusty, and the prejudices are surmounted by facts on our side, against bare assertions on yours. In the infancy of this design, which the wise and disinterested Earl of GODOLPHIN saw, and spoke to his Queen upon her first intimation, that she was going into measures different from those

which had raised her to the summit of glory, on which she stood and could survey Europe in suspense, till it knew her determinations : I say, upon the very first step towards it, that memorable minister told his sovereign what would necessarily, however she was disposed in it, follow from that change of her councils, To the endless sorrow and indignation of all honest men, from that moment she was exalted in words and protestations, but pulled down in things and facts in the court of England ; cunning took the place of wisdom ; impudence of ingenuity, and sensuality of pleasure ; every thing that was praise-worthy was banished and discountenanced, and some monstrous likenesses of it set up to view in the place where it used to appear. The setting-up Idols and Images for the adorable things which they ought to represent, from the practice and influence of the court, grew the fashion throughout the nation, which was amused with words to pursue the destruction of what they understood these words to signify. Thus the word CHURCH giving naturally an alarm to be ready in the Defence of religion, and loyalty to the Queen naturally implying the love of our country, which she had hitherto so well governed and protected ; misled the people not only to suffer, but promote their designs, who were gradually delivering up both Religion

Religion and Liberty into the hands of your worship. You may depend upon it, that the miraculous spirit, which you boast is raised for you, is no other than a mis-guided zeal against you; for which reason, if I might advise, you should stick to your kingdom of France; and therefore I cannot believe you have removed the court from Commercy, to Peterhead, or Perth.

You may be assured, I am not moved to the giving you this trouble, from Passion, Avarice, or Ambition. As to Passion, I must own I never have received greater civilities, or more frank and disinterested offers of kindness and favour, than from friends of yours now in arms, or in custody for your cause; I wish them all, from my soul, in Heaven; and have no more personal provocation to be against any one of them, than **BRUTUS** had to the stabbing of **CÆSAR**. But this is a time, wherein there is no such thing as a private man, but all offices of life should give way to the duties we owe to the community; father, brother, son, and husband, must be laid aside, to exert the citizen and the subject.

As to Avarice and Ambition, when the necessities of life are provided, and conscious honour well guarded, I can condemn both. To shew you that it is so, I can very frankly recommend you to the Cardinal's Cap, which the provincial

of the Jesuits proposes to have offered me, to avoid further unanswerable objections to the craft of traders in religion. Believe me, you would find a great difference in sitting at your ease inflaming others, and in being yourself, as they have now made you, a mock hero in a HOLY WAR; a tool to sacerdotal Pride and Luxury.

In hopes you will make the best use of this advice, I take leave of your eminence.

R. S.

* * * To all SHOP-KEEPERS.

AT the Printing-house in Bow-church-yard, Cheap-side, (by J. C. & Co. &c.) Apothecaries, Perfumers, Grocers, Confectioners, Distillers, Drug-gists, &c. may be furnished with all sorts of TITLES, (for glasses, pots, drawers, &c.) in the largest character ever seen in England, in various sorts of curious borders, or labels of divers colours. Done after an entire new method, known to no others; and sold at reasonable rates. At the same place also, the Prints of shop-keepers signs, Tobacco-marks, Prints for marking goods, &c. are nicely cut, or engraved on wood or copper.

* * * "The Preston Prisoners to the Ladies about Court and Town, by way of comfort from C. W. to W. T. Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane. Where may be had, from W. T. in the Marshalsea, to C. W. in Newgate. Price 2d. each." Evening-Post, Jan. 17, 1715-16.

"From W. T. to C. W. the second part, revised." Ibid. Feb. 21.

* "This day is published, An Ode on the Birth-day of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. To the Princess. To the Earl of Clarendon, on his being created Duke of Newcastle. Amintor and the Nightingale. By Mr. Weldon. Printed for Jacob Tonson." Postman, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

Friday.

N^o VI.

Friday, January 20, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

IT had been impossible that any man should be able to furnish out every week what would be worth reading, even as a trifle, if you did not take it for granted, that when I called my epistle to you TOWN-TALK, I meant, that you who are conversant in books, should esteem this a packet of little results from discourse among the men of good sense, like that kind of writing which Mr. SELDEN calls his TABLE-TALK. That work flowed from a mind full of more deep and weighty knowledge; and though light in itself was such a kind of levity, as did no dishonour to the well-governed spirit from whence it was uttered, your own temper is apt enough to make excuses for what comes from your friends; and therefore I will not dwell upon apologies for the style and loose dress of these Papers, which I know you understand to be the effect of time stolen from the constant business

business and diversion which a man may turn himself to in this town, amidst the active and pleasant scenes of LONDON and WESTMINSTER. To this consideration you will add, that the relation of whatever passes in this agreeable place, is pleasing to you at a distance, where you are confined to live under the satiety of one set of company. But the severity of the season has kept me within doors, where I have passed my time in reading short performances of antient and modern writers; and it has been no small diversion to me, to contemplate the noble Geniuses that have been in the world, and to celebrate in my own imagination such as promise to make a figure in ages to come. The late account which I gave you of the CENSO-RIUM, let you understand, that Poetry and Musick were the arts which were to contribute to the diversions of that Society; the ODE I have sent you in honour of the Prince's birth-day *, by Mr. WELSTED, printed for TONSON, was written at the request of the undertaker, and has produced a piece of musick worthy the poetry, of which I inclose to you the Score. The language of it approaches that simplicity and purity of expression, which has made the natural and easy thoughts of the antients on subjects of

* See p. 88. Last *Advertisement*, of WELSTED's Ode.

meer mirth and gaiety, and *writ* as if only for the diversion of the present hour, descend to our times; there is a peculiar skill in the contrivance of the ODE I am commending, and the festivity and the greatness of the occasion are at once happily preserved. That may seem to a common eye, of common merit, which to discerners is the more extraordinary for appearing so familiar. Men of taste will extremely applaud the art of making the ear tingle with pleasure, at the same time that the heart exults with triumph, as in the ODE, where a Prince is celebrated for his glorious behaviour, at an instant of danger, to entertain those, whose minds overflow with gratitude and pleasure, that it is for their sakes he was exposed to it. The audience feel a noble delight, at once enjoying the benefit, and expressing their sense of it in the united power of musick and poetry. This, Madam, is making pleasure subservient to noble ends, and reducing delight to contribute to what it has generally obstructed, a passion for things praise-worthy.

I have already told you, That the CENSORIUM wasto be to the THEATRE, what an *Under-plot* is to a *Play**; and though theatrical representations may have but an inconsiderable regard from

* See N^o IV. p. 54.

those who do not thoroughly consider them, it must be confessed, that a skilful and honest direction of the powers of Arts and Sciences which so strongly affect the senses, and engage the understanding, would be a great service to the Commonwealth.

I have obtained a copy of a Patent given for that purpose, and publish it at once to advertise those those who act under it, That all good and reasonable men expect some sudden amendment in the public shows, and to acquaint the town with what is incumbent upon the patentee, in hopes of their concurrence in what may be thought necessary for the improvement of their pleasures. This Patent is not drawn up with such tautologies as are usually thought necessary, and possibly may please you from its elegance, It is as follows.

“GEORGE, by the Grace of God, of Great-
 “Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender
 “of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these pre-
 “sents shall come, greeting. We having in-
 “formed ourselves, since our accession to our
 “Crown, of the state of our *Theatre*; and find-
 “ing, to our sorrow, that through the neglect
 “and ill management thereof, the true and only
 “end of its institution is greatly perverted; and
 “instead of exhibiting such representations of
 “human

“ human life as may tend to the encouragement
“ and honour of Religion and Virtue, and dis-
“ countenancing Vice, The English STAGE hath
“ been the complaint of the sober, intelligent,
“ and religious part of our people; and, by in-
“ decent and immodest expressions, by prophane
“ allusion to Holy Scripture, by abusive and
“ scurrilous representations of the clergy, and
“ by the success and applause bestowed on
“ libertine characters, it hath given great and
“ insufferable scandal to Religion and good
“ Manners: and in the representations of civil
“ government, care has not been taken to create
“ in the minds of our good subjects, just and
“ dutiful ideas of the power and authority of
“ magistrates, as well to preserve a due sense of
“ the rights of our people; and through many
“ other abuses, that which under a wise direc-
“ tion, and due regulation, would be useful and
“ honourable, has proved, and if not reformed,
“ will continue a reproach to government, and
“ dishonour to religion. And it being our pious
“ resolution, which with the blessing of Al-
“ mighty God we will steadily pursue through
“ the whole course of our reign, not only by
“ our own example, but by all other means
“ possible to promote the honour of Religion
“ and Virtue; and on every occasion, to en-
“ courage good literature, and to endeavour the
“ establish-

“ establishment of good-manners and discipline
“ among all our loving subjects, in all stations
“ and ranks of men whatsoever, these being, in
“ our opinion, the proper means to render our
“ kingdoms happy and flourishing. We have
“ seriously revolved on the premises, and being
“ well satisfied of the ability and good dispo-
“ sition of our trusty and well-beloved RICHARD
“ STEELE, esq; for the promoting these our
“ royal purposes, not only from his public ser-
“ vices to Religion and Virtue, but his steady
“ adherence to the true interest of his country.
“ Know ye, That We, out of our special grace,
“ certain knowledge, and meer motion, and in
“ consideration of the good and faithful services,
“ which the said RICHARD STEELE hath done
“ us, and doth intend to do, for the future,
“ hath given and granted, and by these presents,
“ for us and our heirs and successor, do give
“ and grant unto him, the said RICHARD
“ STEELE, his executors, administrators, and
“ assigns, for and during the term of his na-
“ tural life, and for and during the full end and
“ term of three years, to be computed next and
“ immediately after the decease of him the said
“ RICHARD STEELE, full power, licence, and
“ authority, to gather together, form, entertain,
“ govern, privilege, and keep a company of
“ Comedians for our service, to exercise and
“ act

“ act Tragedies, Plays, Operas, and other per-
“ formances of the stage, within the house in
“ DRURY-LANE, wherein the same are now ex-
“ ercised, by virtue of a licence granted by Us
“ to him the said RICHARD STEELE, ROBERT
“ WILKS, COLLEY CIBBER, THOMAS DOGGET,
“ and BARTON BOOTH, or within any other
“ house built or to be built, where he or they
“ can best be fitted for that purpose, within
“ our cities of LONDON and WESTMINSTER, or
“ the suburbs thereof; such house or houses so
“ to be built (if occasion shall require) to be
“ assigned, allotted out by the surveyor of our
“ works for a THEATRE or *Play-house*, with ne-
“ cessary tiring and retiring rooms, and other
“ places convenient, of such extent and di-
“ mension as the said RICHARD STEELE, his
“ executors, administrators, or assigns, shall
“ think fitting; wherein Tragedies, Comedies,
“ Plays, Operas, Musick Scenes, and all other
“ entertainments of the stage whatsoever may
“ be shewed and presented. Which said com-
“ pany shall be our servants, and be styled THE
“ ROYAL COMPANY OF COMEDIANS, and shall
“ consist of such numbers as the said RICHARD
“ STEELE, his executors, administrators, or
“ assigns, shall, from time to time, think meet.
“ And we do hereby, for Us, our heirs and suc-
“ cessors, grant unto the said RICHARD STEELE,
“ his

“ his executors, administrators, or assigns, full
“ power, licence, and authority, to permit such
“ persons, at and during the pleasure of the said
“ RICHARD STEELE, his executors, Admini-
“ strators, or assigns, from time, to time to act
“ plays and entertainments of the stage of all
“ sorts, peaceably and quietly, without the im-
“ peachment or impediment of any person or
“ persons whatsoever, for the honest recreation
“ of such as shall desire to see the same, never-
“ theless under the regulations herein after-men-
“ tioned, and such other as the said RICHARD
“ STEELE, from time to time, in his discretion,
“ shall find reasonable and necessary for our
“ service. And We do, for Ourselves, Our
“ heirs, and successors, further grant to him the
“ said RICHARD STEELE, his executors, admini-
“ strators, and assigns as aforesaid, that it shall
“ and may be lawful to and for the said Ri-
“ CHARD STEELE, his executors, administra-
“ tors, and assigns, to take and receive, of
“ such our subjects as shall resort to see or hear
“ any such plays, scenes, and entertainments
“ whatsoever, such sum or sums of money as
“ either have accustomedly been given and
“ taken in the like kind, or as shall be thought
“ reasonable by him or them in regard of the
“ great expences of scenes, musick, and such
“ new decorations as have not been formerly
“ used.

“ used. And further, for Us, Our heirs and
“ successors, We do hereby give and grant unto
“ the said RICHARD STEELE, his executors,
“ administrators, and assigns, full power to
“ make such allowances out of that which he
“ shall so receive by the acting of plays and
“ entertainments of the stage, as aforesaid, to
“ the actors and other persons employed in act-
“ ing, representing, or in any quality whatso-
“ soever about the said theatre, as he or they shall
“ think fit. And that the said company shall
“ be under the sole government and authority
“ of the said RICHARD STEELE, his executors,
“ administrators, or assigns; and all scandalous
“ and mutinous persons shall, from time to time,
“ by him and them be ejected and disabled
“ from playing in the said Theatre. And for
“ the better attaining Our royal purposes in this
“ behalf, We have thought fit hereby to de-
“ clare, that henceforth no representations be
“ admitted on the stage by virtue, or under
“ colour, of these Our letters patents, whereby the
“ Christian Religion in general, or the Church
“ of England, may in any manner suffer re-
“ proach, strictly inhibiting every degree of
“ abuse or misrepresentation of sacred characters,
“ tending to expose religion itself, and to bring
“ it into contempt; and that no such character
“ be otherwise introduced, or placed in other
“ light,

“ light, than such as may inhanche the just
“ esteem of those who truly answer the end of
“ their sacred function. We further enjoyn the
“ strictest regard to such representations, as any
“ way concern civil policy, or the constitution
“ of Our government, that these may con-
“ tribute to the support of Our sacred autho-
“ rity, and the preservation of order and good
“ government. And it being our royal desire,
“ that for the future, Our Theatre may be in-
“ strumental to the promotion of Virtue, and
“ instructive to Human Life, We do hereby
“ command and enjoyn, that no new Play, or
“ any old or revived Play, be acted under the
“ authority hereby granted, containing any
“ passages or expressions offensive to piety and
“ good-manners, until the same be corrected
“ and purged by the said Governor, from all
“ such offensive and scandalous passages and ex-
“ pressions. And these Our letters patents, or
“ the inrolment thereof, shall be in all things
“ good and effectual in the law, according to
“ the true intent and meaning of the same, and
“ any thing in these presents contained, or any
“ law, statute, act, ordinance, proclamation,
“ provision, or restriction, or any other matter,
“ cause, or thing, whatsoever to the contrary, in
“ any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof,
“ We have caused these Our letters to be made
“ Patent.

“ Patent. Witness Ourself at Westminster, the
 “ nineteenth of January, in the first year of Our
 “ reign.

“ By writ of Privy Seal. Cocks.”

This PATENT, Madam, is the LAW of the
 THEATRE; and by the rule of it, we are to
 expect that nothing new shall hereafter come
 upon the Stage, that may in the least offend
 decency or good-manners. The indulgence at
 present given to what is represented there, is a
 sufferance which it is to be hoped will be made
 up to the audience in future plays. If every
 thing that shall not be represented is not vir-
 tuous, let it at least be innocent. This will
 bring a new audience to the house; and it is
 from the hope of entertaining those who at
 present are terrified at the Theatre, that the
 sharers must hope for their success hereafter.
 This will naturally have the desired effect, and
 Folly will be ridiculous without being at the
 same time so mixed with Vice, as to make it
 also terrible. The daughter may be agreeable
 and blooming, though the mother is at the
 same time discreet, careful, and anxious for her
 conduct. No necessary imperfections, such as
 old age, and misfortune, shall be the objects of
 derision and buffoonery. The fine gentleman is
 not absolutely obliged to wrong his friend in the
 most unpardonable instance, that of his bed;

nor is the fine lady of course to like him best, who lavishes his youth among the abandoned of her sex. But it is to be hoped, that men of Wit and Genius will be prevailed upon to write for the stage (the most ready occasion for recommending themselves to the world) who will scorn to be beholden to mens appetites and desires for their applause; but will venture to stand or fall, according as they please well-informed judgement, and promote well directed passion.

P. S. I have been just now at the water-side, and observe a whole street broke in an instant. There has been, for some days, a communication with the county of SURREY, by way of Ice *, which made up the city of LONDON, WESTMINSTER, and SOUTHWARK. There has happened a good deal of difficulty upon this ac-

* "Several poor people have this last week been found in the street lying dead, and stiffened with the violence of the frost. The Thames is now grown one solid rock of ice; coaches, carriers with their horses and their waggon, have passed like a public road; booths for the sale of brandy, wine, and other exhilarating liquors, have been fixed there for some time; but now it is made in a manner like a town, thousands and thousands of people cross it, and with wonder view the mountainous heaps of water that now lie congealed into ice, notwithstanding the resistance given to the cold by the motion of the tide. On Thursday last a pretty large cook's shop was erected there; and people went there as regularly to the ordinary, as they do in the city. Over against Westminster, Whitehall, and White-Friers, printing-presses are kept upon the ice, where many persons have their names printed off, to transmit the wonders of the season to their children. It has not much longer to continue, to equal, or even to out-do, the GREAT FROST, which is now made as it were an æra of time." Weekly Packet, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

count,

N^o 6. T O W N - T A L K. 101

count, for all manner of crimes have been there committed by way of curiosity, to know whether they could act with the same freedom there, as on the shore. The Water-Bailiff has had a quarrel with the Bailiffs of WESTMINSTER and SOUTHWARK, about the jurisdiction on the occasion. The thaw, instead of ending the difficulty, according to the learned, will but increase it. All the GOLDSMITHS * on the Ice are thought to have acted too much upon credit, and to have hurt their character on shore. It is a great mortification to see this intermediate city disperse like a camp ordered to march, and you must take it as an emblem of all human affairs, without saying, we at best *walk on Ice*. I am, Madam,

Your most obedient humble servant.

N^o 7. Friday, January 27, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

YOU are at a distance from the town, and consequently are not entertained with all the prepenſe impertinencies which we enjoy who live in it. Thoſe who premeditate their follies, are we Authors of Daily or Weekly Papers, who do not only gravely ſit down, and take pen, ink, and paper, to communicate our crudities to our private friends, but alſo make the preſs labour to

* The Bankers were then univerſally ſo called.

spread our errors among the rest of the people. I, you know, have so many faults, that I can pretend to no severity without appearing ridiculous, but at the same time, pretend to so much candour as to like a thing well done, as well as if I had done it myself, and am therefore the fittest man to give you an abridgement of the public papers, or a comment upon them, as occasion, or endeavour to divert you, shall require.

I constantly send you all that come out. You are to look upon the *Daily Courant*, in general, as a man in his every-day cloaths; but when he has any thing that is new, he wears it without giving himself airs; and you may receive him in it, as one that comes to visit you out of kindness to you, much more than for his own sake, or to set himself off. The *Post-man* is an admirable Stage-coach, and goes whether he has passengers or not. One cannot forbear looking in upon him; but you are sure to see every thing in his vehicle in its homliest garb; all is dressed for a journey, and muffled up. You know nobody, and you see all fast and tight; and the whole carriage put together with a respect to the profit of the undertaker, more than the pleasure or convenience of the passenger.

I once before recommended to you the reading of a paper, which, if attended to, cannot
but

but at the same time that it is an entertainment, be very serviceable to the publick *. This Paper comes out in the midst of the confusion and animosity, which are fomented by pamphlets and other loose papers, like a man of sense in a multitude, whose appearance among them suppresses their noise, and gains him an authority to be heard with attention for their common service. In this view give me leave to repeat to you the first paragraph of his last Paper †.

‘ One may venture to affirm, that all honest and
 ‘ disinterested Britons, of what party soever, if
 ‘ they understand one another, are of the same
 ‘ opinion in points of government; and that
 ‘ the gross of the people, who are imposed upon
 ‘ by terms which they do not comprehend, are
 ‘ WHIGS in their hearts. They are made to
 ‘ believe, that Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance, Unlimited Power and Indefeasible
 ‘ Right, have something of a venerable and religious meaning in them; whereas in reality
 ‘ they only imply, that a king of Great Britain
 ‘ has a right to be a tyrant, and that his subjects are obliged in conscience to be slaves.
 ‘ Were the case truly and fairly laid before
 ‘ them, they would know, that when they make
 ‘ a profession of such principles, they renounce

* The FREEHOLDERS then publishing by ADDISON. See p. 60.

† FREEHOLDER, N^o X. Jan. 23, 1715-16.

‘their legal claim to Liberty and Property, and
 ‘unwarily submit to what they really abhor.’

He goes on to shew the ill effects of absolute power, even in a man particularly turned to devotion. You must know, at Mr. JOHNSON’S, we have all the papers lie before us, and cousin ARTHUR, who is our reader, takes what he pleases off the table; and yesterday when we were all in discourse upon public affairs, cast his eye upon AMORETT, and told her she must entertain the company on her lute, and sing at the same time the following *Song*, a production of the same noble Genius * I celebrated in my last epistle to you.

AMINTOR AND THE NIGHTINGALE.

A S O N G *.

I.

“ A S in a blowing Jasmine bower,
 “ Where Envy’s eye could ne’er disclose ‘em,
 “ Enjoying ages in an hour
 “ AMINTOR lay in CHLOE’S bosom.

II.

“ A Nightingale renewed her song
 “ In such a sad complaining measure,
 “ In notes at once so sweet and strong,
 Th’ enchanted grove was fill’d with pleasure.

* LEONARD WELSTED, Esq; See pp. 88. 90.

III, “ O

III.

“ O lovely Songstrefs, said the swain,
“ Thy idle melody give over ;
“ To me alas, thou sing’st in vain,
“ To me, a panting wishing Lover.

IV.

“ Thy sweet complainings now dismiss,
“ O heavenly, yet unkind intruder ;
“ Nor rob me of a gentler bliss,
“ To give me in its place a ruder.

V.

“ When I am sunk in CHLOE’s arms,
“ The softest moment Love possesses ;
“ E’en PHILOMEL has lost her charms,
“ And Harmony itself displeases.

VI.

“ Bright CHLOE all my powers employs,
“ And all besides is fond delusion :
“ While she alone compleats my joys,
“ Variety is but confusion.”

The scene, the persons, the time, and all other circumstances, contribute to make this as proper a subject for a Song as could be imagined ; the delicacy of the thought and phrase, and the sweetness of the numbers, heightened by a charming voice of a fine young lady, setting herself to view before her Lover, and in a mixed company, were circumstances that conspired to make

make the instant most exquisitely agreeable. It was then I first discovered, that our friend ARTHUR was a slave to AMORETT; and a cast of her eye, when she had done singing, discovered more than bare curiosity to observe how well he liked her performance.—Mr. JOHNSON desired ARTHUR to look upon the papers on the table, which were handed about. You will observe, says he, a letter there which was sent to my hand from the author of the TATLER, as a thing he knew would please me, as having formerly been angry that it was any where so much as intimated that the Atheist was not a monster without any companion in the whole species, who had not drowned in himself the gifts and suggestions of natural reason.—Mr. ARTHUR read the letter, naming the date of it first, to wit, —“Marlborough, on the West coast of Sumatra, “August 24.” The letter is as follows :

“ To RICHARD STEELE, Esq.

“ SIR,

“ I LEFT England just at the time you had
 “ completed your TATLERS, and left it with
 “ the less regret, because I thought the noblest
 “ entertainment I had ever met with was at an
 “ end ; but I found myself very agreeably dis-
 “ appointed ; the SPECTATOR has visited me on
 “ this

“ this side the *Globe* ; his conversation relieves
“ me from the fatigue of business ; by him I am
“ always entertained, and of en improved. The
“ **BIBLE** has the first place in my study, as
“ teaching me the whole compass of Duty. Mr.
“ **LOCKE**, who first taught me to distinguish be-
“ tween Words and Things, has the next place ;
“ those writings, which have taught me a more
“ easy and agreeable manner of practising Virtue
“ itself, are my constant companions : I hope the
“ grateful acknowledgements of an honest mind,
“ for being made wiser and better, will not be
“ unacceptable to one who professes doing
“ good.

“ The **SPECTATOR**, N^o 389. carries conviction
“ to any man that dares make use of his reason,
“ though I think you seem to make a con-
“ cession to the Atheist of a fact, which may be
“ very well proved against him. I point at that
“ place where you rally him for valuing himself
“ upon the Hottentots on his side. I have
“ visited the several quarters of the *Globe*, and
“ made some observations on Men and Things :
“ I lived some time among the Hottentots, and
“ do think human nature is more sunk in them,
“ than in any other part of our species, except the
“ Atheist himself ; but how contemptible soever
“ they may appear in other respects, they are
“ not so far abandoned as to have lost the sense

“ of

“ of a Deity ; every new moon they assemble
 “ together, and spend a considerable part of the
 “ night in a rude worship, expressed by singing,
 “ or rather screaming, and dancing, after their
 “ manner. This fact will be confirmed by all
 “ persons of observation, who have lived any
 “ time at the Cape of Good Hope.

“ I do not think the cause stands in need of
 “ this proof ; but I was willing to do so much
 “ right to those poor people, as to vindicate
 “ them from a charge, which single, if true,
 “ would render them much more despicable
 “ than all their present miserable circumstances
 “ put together.

“ You will not find the name of the place I
 “ date from, in the map. Fondness for a structure
 “ of my own raising, led me to give it the most
 “ illustrious name in history, MARLBOROUGH,
 “ the Glory, and the Shame of Great Britain ;
 “ the Glory is his own, the Shame is——

“ Sir, I am

“ Your much obliged

“ Marlborough, on the
 “ West Coast of Sumatra,
 “ Aug. 24, 1714.

“ humble servant,

“ JOSEPH COLLET.”

After Mr. JOHNSON had triumphed in the ac-
 count of Religion among the Hottentots; he
 proceeded to express a pleasure, that while this
 side

side of the Globe, wherein the duke or MARLBOROUGH had performed his glorious actions, was stupidly, and ungratefully endeavouring to sully his great reputation, the other hemisphere was raising monuments to his renown. While he was talking, Mr. ARTHUR, who was looking upon the paper that lay next to it, interrupted him with a smile, and said, "I find the business of Fame is in some measure the care and perplexity of all degrees of mankind, as well as of captains and heroes. This epistle in my hand," said he, "has a new kind of adversity in it, the distress of being unworthily praised. I will read it out," continued he, "because I have a respect for the man that writes it, as well as for the novelty of its matter." So read these words.

"To the Author of the TOWN-TALK.

"S I R,

"IF there was any law, whereby I could be redressed when a man makes use of my name without my knowledge or approbation, I should not now trouble you with this Letter, to desire you to do me justice, in telling the Town how much I am abused this way.

"Before

“ Before I knew what a dealer in advertise-
 “ ments Mr. E. CURLL the Bookseller is, and
 “ how far he carries his industry to get money,
 “ I was so easy-as to let him share with me in a
 “ book called FIRES IMPROVED, which I trans-
 “ lated out of French. He, in order to for-
 “ ward the sale of the book, not content with
 “ the usual way of advertising, inserted my
 “ whole preface in the news-paper, giving Mr.
 “ SENEX the Engraver, and myself, such un-
 “ reasonable commendation in his own style, at
 “ the bottom of the advertisement, as a man uses
 “ when he is selling a thing, and calls it *the best*
 “ *in England*. I told him how I suffered under
 “ so much panegyrick, which must make all,
 “ that imagined me to consent to the publishing
 “ such an advertisement, have a very whimsical
 “ notion of me. Well, this passed off, and I
 “ thought myself out of all danger of ever being
 “ commended again by him; but last week he
 “ began to give about another advertisement
 “ in a quarter of a sheet of paper, concerning
 “ the book above-mentioned. The first part of
 “ this advertisement gave an account of my
 “ book, and named the workmen which I em-
 “ ploy in building the new chimneys for any
 “ body that desires my directions in the matter *.

* “ Just published, by Mr. DESAGULIERS, a Book, intitled. FIRES
 IMPROVED; being a new method of building Chimneys, so as to pre-
 vent

“ So much of the advertisement I knew of; but
 “ he fills up the rest of the paper with what
 “ you was pleased to say of me * in your de-
 “ scription of the *New Chimneys* in your Town-
 “ TALK, Numb. III. calling it Sir “ RICHARD
 “ STEELE’s *Account of the New Chimneys*”.
 “ Now, whether Sir RICHARD STEELE and you
 “ are the same person, is what I have not yet
 “ been assured of; neither is it my business to
 “ enquire into it. There is yet no name put to
 “ your Paper. I have satisfied Sir RICHARD
 “ STEELE, that I had no hand in making use of
 “ his name in this advertisement; and I hope
 “ that you will not imagine me so vain as to
 “ re-print and publish to the world, the charac-
 “ ter that you gave me in your Paper, when I as
 “ little expected as deserved it †.

vent their Smoaking; in which a small Fire shall warm a Room better
 than a much larger made the common way; with the manner of alter-
 ing such Chimneys as are already built, so that they shall perform the
 same effects. Illustrated with nine explanatory cuts. Printed for E.
 CURLL, at the Dial and Bible, against St. Dunstons Church, in Fleet-
 street, price 3s. At whose house may be seen these new Chimneys, made
 after the cheapest and simplest manner, according to the direction of
 Mr. DESAGULIERS. Performed by Thomas Hathwell and William
 Uream, Bricklayers.” Postman, Jan. 14, 1715-16.

* “ This Day is published, and given gratis, Sir RICHARD STEELE’s
 account of Mr. DESAGULIERS’ new-invented Chimnies. Printed for E.
 CURLL, &c.” Postboy, Jan. 21, 1715-16.

† “ JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS, M.A. F.R.S. and NICHOLAS
 DU BOIS, Architect, and one of his Majesty’s Engineers, have contrived
 a new Stove Grate with iron cavities behind the back of it, made in such
 manner, that with an ordinary fire, the largest rooms will, in the coldest
 weather,

"To prevent any thing like this for the
 "future, I gave you this trouble to declare,
 "That where-ever my name is, or shall be
 "printed, with that egregious flatterer Mr.
 "CURLL's, either in an advertisement, or at the
 "title page of a book, except that of "*Fires*
 "*Improved*," I entirely disown it. I am, Sir,

"Channel-Row West-
 "minster, Jan. 23,
 "1716.

"Your most humble

"and obedient Servant,

"JOHN THEOPHILUS DESAGULIERS."

AMORETT, who is a disciple of this Philo-
 sopher, said, "he hoped, when the *Censurium*

weather, be equally warmed in all parts, and constantly supplied with
 fresh air, heated in the said cavities, as it comes into the room; the way
 proposed in a book called, "*Fire Improved, &c.*" being only successful in
 small apartments. The greatest effect that such a machine can produce
 with the least cost, may be seen at the said Mr. Desaguliers in Channel-
 Row, Westminster, every Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, from 2
 to 5 in the afternoon; where not only the room where the fire is
 (which 30 foot long, 18 wide, and 15 high) is warmed so as to make
 the Thermometer rise 34 degrees in 2 or 3 hours; but afterwards the
 hot air is conveyed into a large bedchamber, so as to give that as great
 a degree of heat as is desired. Another of the'e machines, made in a
 more ornamental manner, may be seen at the said Mr. Du Bois's, at
 Mr. Seguer's, a Grocer and Perfumer in Panton-street, near Leicester-
 Fields, every Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, from 2 to 5 in the after-
 noon, during this month of March. N. B. Mr. Desaguliers and Mr.
 Du Bois being partners in the undertaking of these new Stove Grates,
 desire such as would have any of them put up in their houses next
 winter, to come and treat with them about it as soon as may be; for so
 many are already beset, that their workmen (which are but few) will
 not be able to get them ready without timely notice." Postman
 March 1, 1715-16.

"should

“ should take place, injuries of this kind would
 “ be redressed by proper judges; and those who
 “ use words and the faculty of meer speaking
 “ and writing, as *Barbarians* do their bodily
 “ strength, will receive their just censure; and
 “ those who employ those arts and sciences,
 “ of which they are masters, to worthy pur-
 “ poses, receive the greatest of rewards, the
 “ approbation of the most polite and most vir-
 “ tuous among their contemporaries;—I think,”
 continued she, turning to ARTHUR, “ all we
 “ have hitherto heard of it, and the Prologue
 “ which opened it, give us this kind of expect-
 “ tation from that Academy. I take the liberty,
 “ as you are so familiar as to bid me sing
 “ before all this company, to let you know, I ex-
 “ pect you would let us have that pretty Poem.”

ARTHUR made no answer; but bowed, and repeated.

PROLOGUE spoken at the CENSORIUM
 on HIS MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY.

“ FOR bright Assemblies, and for Tastes refin'd,
 This little Theatre was first design'd,
 In which the well-pleas'd Founder hopes to treat
 An audience rather elegant than great;
 While Wit and Beauty shall the scene divide,
 And charm each other, rang'd on either side.
 Fearful of noisy claps and loud huzzas,
 That drown the Poem which they mean to praise,

He begs you calmly to espouse his cause,
Nor fright the neighb'ring Barge-men with applause.

To please you here shall different ages strive,
New Arts shall flourish, and the Old revive.
To the raw tribe of Templars shall be shown
The Grecian Gesture, and the Roman Tone :
VIRGIL shall be the talk of every Beau,
And Ladies list the charms of CICERO.
The land shall grow polite from You, who sit
In chosen ranks, THE CABINET OF WIT :
To You shall Bards their virgin-works reveal,
And hoarse contending Orators appeal ;
For your applause the rival Arts shall sue,
And Musick take its melody from You.

With happy omens we prepare the way,
A noble Theme, and an auspicious Day.
O BRITAIN ! grateful consecrate to mirth
The time that gave thy great DELIVERER birth.
Long may this day through many a circling year
Distinguish'd in thy festivals appear !
And all thy sons in its return delight,
Like those who form this loyal House to-night !

*** Just published, The British Subject's Answer to the Pretender's Declaration. By Sir Richard Steele. Price Two Pence. Sold by J. Roberts ; J. Graves, in St. James's-Street ; and A. Dodd. Where may be had, compleat Sets of the TOWN-TALKS. See p. 128.

This Day is published, The POLITICAL TATLER, No VI. by JE-
NATHAN STANDFAST, Esq; shewing the reasonableness and necessity
of executing the principal of the condemned criminals. To which is
added, his Majesty's most gracious Speech, and the Proceedings of the
Lords and Commons thereon. Printed for J. Roberts. Flying Post,
Feb. 23, 1715-16.

Friday.

N^o VIII. Friday, February 3, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

I HAVE received yours, and as you command me, in regard that you read all public papers and pamphlets, give a summary account of the state of affairs in my next ; and particularly dwell upon the late peace, the successful war before it, and the imminent danger we are in after it.

I have not time to do this in so careful a manner as I ought to perform any thing which is to pass your observation ; but the facts are so notorious, that they occur to every man who has lived in the world in as lively a manner as the most ordinary accidents of life. I shall treat the matter as a point of power projected by France over us and the rest of Europe : and the events which I shall enumerate, will show you, that we are at no time to expect from that nation much more than to live without hostilities.

Have patience, Madam, while I lead you round Europe, and bring you again into your

own country, and then give you the best intelligence I can of the person and parts of the Pretender.

England never had a capital and hereditary enemy but France; for though our brethren in the North of this island have formerly been troublesome neighbours, it is to be observed, that generally they were influenced in those cases by French Councils; and that they have been far from attempting to give England any uneasiness when they were engaged with any foreigners but the French. The Scotch did frequently send them useful succours against the Romans, and other invaders; and the names of the statemen, who by the Union secured for ever their country from any apprehension of danger from that side, but by rebellion, ought to be had in perpetual veneration.

There generally reigns a mutual and hereditary antipathy between the inhabitants of contiguous countries. All the influence of a French government in Spain has not yet been able to extinguish the animosities of the subjects of the two crowns. The Spaniards continue to give the reproachful epithet of *Gavach* to their French neighbours, who in their turn compliment the Spanish Dons with that of *Franfaron*.

The

The subjects of Castile mention the Portuguese with contempt; and they again abominate the name of a Castilian.

To bring the case home, the animosity between the English and the French, has not been less conspicuous, or of shorter duration, than that of any of the nations above mentioned, and to say the truth, has been better founded; nay, I will venture to affirm, that the history and experience of the past and present ages have abundantly justified the truth of this proposition. That as England has generally been successful in war against the French, and has thereby become formidable and respected abroad, the nation has always been inglorious, and suffered considerably in its honour and reputation, when in a combination of councils and interests with France.

If this observation may, as I hope it will by all persons versed in our history, be allowed to be literally true, even in the times of Popish darkness and superstition, how much more reason have we to be upon our guard now we are convinced by fatal experience, that to all the other political reasons that may induce our Gallic neighbours, to exert their utmost efforts to make Britain and Ireland provinces of France, the declared maxim of that court has been, to *extinguish* that way of worship, *which they call*

Hereſy, and lately entertained hopes, that their deſigns would ſoon become ſucceſſful, under the notion of aſſerting the Title of the Pretender; in which they intended ſuch a King of Britain, as the Duke of Bouillon is Prince of Sedan, which is the hereditary patrimony of his family; or as the Prince of Conti became ſovereign of the principality of Orange upon King William's death, which he was obliged to reſign to his Moſt Chriſtian Maſteſty, as ſoon as the parliament of Paris had declared him Heir to it.

I have premiſed thus much of paſt affairs, only to enable you to form a juſter idea of our national intereſts, whereby you may be better qualified to judge with impartiality, of what may be henceforth ſaid upon that ſubject in this Paper; eſpecially with relation to the peace, about which you ſend ſo many queſtions; and upon which I will aver, in round words, that they who made it cannot alledge in their defence, either juſtice, neceſſity, or expediency to this nation.

The only way to judge impartially of the merits of the peace-makers, is to conſider how it may affect the nation in theſe three eſſentials, Religion, Liberty, and Commerce; which I think will be allowed to include all that is valuable to us as men, and as Chriſtians,

But

But to set this in a clear light, it will be necessary to take a view of the state of the nation, and of its enemies and allies at these four remarkable periods, the Revolution in 1688, the treaty of Ryfwick in 1697, the commencement of the late war in 1702, and the fatal cessation of arms in 1712.

After the accession of King James II. to the throne of Britain, the French believing themselves in a condition to bring the rest of Europe under their yoke, in 1688, made preparations to invade the empire, in order to make way for the elevation of the then Dauphin of France to the dignity of King of the Romans. This incident made the removal of King James as happy to the rest of Europe, as necessary to ourselves; and ours became the common interest of Christendom. This revolution was attended with a war, of which though the success was various, the end was both honourable and advantageous to England, and to every one of her allies; since, besides the strong and important city and dutchy of Luxemburgh, which they gave up by that peace, though it had been yielded to them by treaty for twenty years, they were not only forced to restore what they had taken during the war, but also the dutchies of Lorrain and Bar, which they had been long possessed of. They acknowledged King William's title to the British

crown ; and the English trade to Spain was secured on the ancient foundation, to the exclusion of the French.

For the more effectual perpetuating the benefit of this trade to England, King William consented to the treaty of partition, whereby Spain and the West-Indies were to be inherited by the present Emperor, and the Italian dependencies of that monarchy were yielded to France ; by which, though there would have been a great accretion of dominion to that crown, yet not of power or treasure. On the contrary, the preservation of those dominions, which are not contiguous to their own, might have greatly exhausted the kingdom, as the experience of past ages has justified ; for it must then have been the interest of all the Princes and States of Italy to guard against the increase of the French power.

The death of the Spanish King opened a new scene. The French immediately seized the whole monarchy and its dependencies, in Europe, Africk, and America, except the Spanish provinces in the Low Countries.

The Duke of Bavaria, who then had the keys of Europe in his keeping, offered to come into the Grand Alliance with his brother of Cologne. The Duke of Savoy made the same offer by his agent ; and the King of Portugal, who saw the
ruin

ruin of his family unavoidable by the union of France and Spain, would have been glad to have joined his forces with the rest. What has been since performed under much more disadvantageous circumstances, gives ground to conjecture how easy a war would have been upon that foot, and how speedy the conclusion. The expectations of all Europe waited the decision of the Parliament of England; but instead of giving a subsidy to enable the King to resent the perfidious violation of solemn and sacred engagements, behold an impeachment for a treaty, under these disadvantages much more valuable than that made lately at Utrecht in the wantonness of the confederate power, and after a long series of victories. The consequences were, that the King of Portugal makes an alliance with France, the Duke of Savoy joins their army in person with all his forces, the bulwark of Europe is given up by the Elector of Bavaria, and Cologne introduces the enemy into Bonne, Huy, Liege, Keyferswaert, and Dinant: the Bavarian takes arms in the heart of Germany, seizes the Imperial cities, enflames the empire, calls in the French, and shakes the Emperor on his throne.

Before all these misfortunes happened, the English Genius once more awakes; they resent with indignation the imposition of a Pretender

to their Sovereign's Throne, by a haughty Monarch, who assumes the power to dispose of Crowns; the people beg of their Prince a dissolution of the Parliament then in being; the King gives his opinion for war, but dies before he can enter upon it: but as the motive of his actions was Justice, not Ambition, the last act of his life was agreeable to the constant tenour of it, the exclusion of a Popish Pretender.

The war was commenced under innumerable difficulties, but none appeared invincible to such ministers, such generals, such armies, and such allies, as the British nation was blessed with on that great conjuncture. But how melancholy, Madam, is the reflection, that we cannot look back on the victories but with shame and infamy, when we consider how poorly the effects of them were sacrificed to the enemy! But to run over what is necessary to rehearse, though it is a pain to do it, you must recollect, that one day conquered Bavaria, another recovered Germany, a third wrests Lombardy and Naples out of the enemies hands, Catalonia cost three weeks, Valentia revolts, Majorca and Sardinia follow their example, even Flanders submits, and impregnable cities fly open. The term of *Pais Conquis*, conquered countries, begins to alter its signification in France; we come to attack the ancient demesnes of the crown, our parties appear in fight

sight of the monarch's palace, and the trembling Parisians begin to talk of paying contributions, or removing their effects; when all of a sudden, as if we had been in an instant convinced we had been acting a guilty part in all our enterprizes, France is restored to the formidable condition with which she entered the war, and with some circumstances more advantageous, as that she had now by our concession, what we took up arms to wrest out of her hands.

By this peace, Spain and the Indies are given up to the house of Bourbon, and Lisle restored to France, as if we had been concerned for their misfortune, in being unable, without that restitution, to supply so effectually as they have since done, the Spanish demands of woollen manufactures; it having been computed, that there have been in that district, about six and twenty thousand persons employed that way. Many other strong places are given up, and we receive in lieu of them little besides a mock-concession of Port Mahon, Gibraltar, and Annapolis, which we had already possessed ourselves of, at a considerable expence of blood and treasure.

As to the state of Religion and Liberty within this island, as these are no longer secure, than our power of defending them is preserved, and as it is visible, that power must increase or diminish

diminish in proportion to our commerce, unless that be secured by the peace, it can never be said to be a good one.

As for the trade to Spain, I appeal to all those concerned in it, how it has been affected by the peace. There remained two other branches of our commerce, the one very profitable, the other absolutely necessary ; I mean our trade to Portugal, to bring home, amongst other things, great quantities of gold for our manufactures; and that to the Baltick, for naval stores. The first was visibly given up to France, by the so famous eighth and ninth articles of the treaty of Commerce ; which not having taken effect, while they were projecting other methods of getting it out of our hands, the skill and care of his Majesty's ministry, has relieved us in that circumstance. And as to our trade to the Baltick, we see it is already rendered so impracticable by French politicians at the Swedish court, and French privateers under Swedish colours, that his Majesty is forced to be at a vast expence in sending thither a royal squadron, to protect his subjects by force of arms, in the enjoyment of those rights, which they are entitled to by the law of nations.

Here Madam, you have a short and summary account of that peace, which has broken all the bands of Commerce and Alliance in Europe,
and

and exposed our country, which had the most glorious post of leading in the war, to the reproach of using that situation to no other purpose, but overbearing the allies in all their reasonable demands; and in concert with the enemy, betraying or resigning the interests of their confederates, without insisting upon the least advantage even to themselves, but what they also treacherously and secretly gave up to France, as in the notorious instance of the demolition of Dunkirk.

The iniquity of these men has sullied our reputation abroad, in so great a degree, that foreigners imagine our folly or inconstancy to be such, that without even accommodating the bait they lay before us, to our passions or our interests, any thing presented to our view will become the object of our zeal, and need nothing to make it acceptable, but being new. It were not otherwise possible for any neighbouring power to form to itself any sanguine expectations from favouring the Pretender. As you seem to have a curiosity to know something of this person's private character, you are to understand, that he has never, in his whole life, or upon any incident of it, been known to have said or done what might intimate him to have the least genius for the arts of war or peace, business or conversation, for becoming the
pleasures

pleasures of an affluent condition, or supporting the inconveniences of a distressed one. The bare capacity of appearing in a room, and acquitting himself in the usual gestures of civility, is the utmost that he has arrived at, even in an exercised fortune, which always strikes out the qualities of body and mind, where nature has bestowed the least disposition towards them. This inaptitude is too notorious to have left a nation the most disposed of all others to find something to commend in those with whom they have to do, the least room for reporting any advantageous circumstance of this remarkable person, whom they have so long designed for our monarch. You are not from hence to expect, that this dulness and inactivity would render him less dangerous in power; for there is no condition of human life above *Idiotism*, which is not capable of superstition. Where this is infused, a weak mind will exercise all imaginable tyrannies and cruelties, and, at the same time, flatter itself with the idea of conscious virtue and zeal for the noblest of all motives, religion. It is impossible for such a person to extricate himself from prejudice, so as to consider a man of a different faith from himself in the same degree of virtue, according to his respective tenet; he will naturally lay a stress upon the sensible ceremonies and institutions

tions of men, which he can understand, and have no regard to the true notions of Virtue and Piety, which he has not capacity to comprehend. There is certain intelligence, that this turn of his has already given great offence and scandal to the churches of *Scoon* and *Perth*; and it is well known, that an eminent Divine of the Church of *England*, and another of *Scotland*, notwithstanding their merit of perjury and treason for his sake, were esteemed too heterodox to say grace at his table. What can be expected from a Bigot, that cannot bear so indifferent a thing, as what is an act of meer natural religion, the giving Thanks for benefits received, when it is not by one instituted in his own way? But it seems *England*, in the eye of our neighbour, is to be allured without any of those popular endowments which attract the rest of the world, and neither our eyes nor our ears are to be gratified, or our understanding informed with any thing to transport us, in order to make us come into a rebellion.

I have given some account of the talents of the Pretender; as to his person we have no other distinction but that he is tall and alive. There is no air in his motion, sense in his discourse, or dignity in his aspect. The state of his whole affair is, that a people who have received

no

no injury, are in rebellion in behalf of one to whom empire would be no kindness.

I hope therefore, you will lay aside all fears for a great and glorious people, fighting in defence of all that is dear to them, against an undisciplined multitude, and an *Indolent Invader*. The Rebels are exasperated by no injuries, and their prince animated by no sentiments of glory: Till stupidity can form, or giddiness execute great designs, you are safe from the Pretender and his followers. I am, Madam,

Your most humble servant.

* * Just published, A Pamphlet, intituled, "*The Tea Table*," N^o I. to be continued once a fortnight, Price 3d. Sold by J. Baker. St. James's Post, Feb. 6, 1715-16. This Paper was by Sir R. STEELE.

Yesterday was published, the 2d Edition of the Tea Table, No. I. &c. And next Thursday will be published No II. Ibid. Feb. 10.

No. III. was advertised March 2; but no farther Numbers appear.

On the 21st of January, 1715-16, J. ROBERTS began to publish a new Weekly Paper, called, "*The Protestant Packet*;" in which was included, an article under the head of HOME-NEWS and TOWN-TALK. In that Paper also STEELE was doubtless an assistant. It was not long continued: I have seen three numbers only.

* * Just published, A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. S. concerning his Remarks on the Pretender's Declaration. Price 3d. Postboy, Feb. 2, 1715-16. See p. 114.

This day is published, A Vindication of Sir RICHARD STEELE, against a Pamphlet, intituled, A Letter to the Right Worshipful Sir R. &c. Price 4d. Evening Post, Feb. 18, 1715-16.

Just published, the Pretender's Declaration transposed, by Mr. ASGILL. Sold by R. Burleigh, in Amen Corner; of whom may be had his other Tracts against the Pretender, and a defence of the Title of King GEORGE and his family.

Nancy Roc—d's Letter to a Member of the Beef-Stake Club, in Vindication of certain Ladies, calumniated in the Freeholder of March 9th. In the style of a certain Knight. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 3d. St. James's Post, March 24, 1715-16.

Monday,

N^o 9. Monday, February 13, 1715-16.

M A D A M,

MY last ended with some account of the **PRETENDER**, whom I then described with the new and uncommon character, and such as indeed one could not believe to be in human nature, that of an *indolent* **INVADER**. But the advices which represent him in new incidents, with which we were not then acquainted, confirm me in the opinion, that he is the most burthensome part of the baggage of his own army, and is the tool of other mens ambition, who labour to place him in a condition which he has no suitable impulse to contend for, or genius to enjoy. It is a circumstance which never before happened amongst men, that instead of being headed or inflamed by the person, conduct, or valour of him whom an army would promote to empire, they suffer all the fatigues of war, and subject themselves to all the penalties of Law, for one, who comes into their camp like a Spy, and goes out like a Defenter. The present report is, that after having lived some days like a proscribed man in the kingdom he calls his own, he has, after being once pre-

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vented

vented from doing it, actually made his escape from that body of men who took up arms in his cause. It is observable that he did not, in any part of his behaviour, act like a man determined to conquer, or to die; but in a mock-council, in which only he had any appearance of royalty, at *Scoon*, he mistook his part so much, or was so little able to act it, that he took up the time which should have been spent in thanking those about him for their present service, and exhorting them to future undertakings, in poor lamentation of himself, and his unhappy circumstances. You are a lady of the first understanding and good breeding; and I should be loth to be understood by you, to bring a railing accusation against an unhappy man, deluded into an opinion of a title, which be he who he will, or whose son he will, I think and know he has not. But I say all this to shew you that the whole is one continued absurdity, that as the rebellion was entered into without provocation from injuries, so it was also undertaken without any expectation, or reasonable hope of popular favour towards him who was to be exalted by it. I deferred writing to you upon his subject, or that of his followers, till I could, according to your request, give you a further account of him and them, by telling you what passed with relation to those noblemen who were taken at
Preston.

Preston. It is not for me to give you a narrative of the transactions in that High Court of Parliament, wherein the exercise of Royalty itself was, in a kind, vested in the Lord High Steward *, who indeed performed it with a certain air and meekness of majesty, which well represented that merciful PRINCE, whose power was then in his hands, and could be exceeded only by what appeared in the countenance of that very PRINCE then present †. There is so great and so noble a pleasure, though mixed with inquietude, in the exercise of pity, that I heartily wished you there, to see the Legislature of England in the act of justice and compassion ; but as I am to lay every thing before you which I take notice of here in the most lively manner I can, you are to suppose Westminster-Hall in a kind, amphitheatrically disposed. The Lord High Steward placed under a canopy of state, surrounded by the *Regalia*, carried by proper officers ; Garter King at Arms at his right, and the Black Rod at his left ; the Peers of Great-Britain in their robes facing towards him in the area of the hall ; on his right hand, by a rail dividing them from that court, were seated the Commons of Great-Britain, in ascending rows behind each other ; over-against them, on his left, divided also from the

* Lord Chancellor Cowper.

† The King and the Prince of Wales were both present, in the box prepared for the Royal Family.

House of Lords, were disposed on like ascents people of the first quality of both sexes, which filled and compleated the solemnity of the appearance. When silence was thrice proclaimed, the Lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to bring forth his prisoners; the Gentleman Gaoler accordingly bearing the point of his axe from the offenders, marched before them, so as to place himself on the left-hand of him of first quality when they stood at the bar; to wit, the Earl of DERWENTWATER on his right, next to him the Lord WIDDRINGTON, to him the Earl of NITHSDALE, to him the Earl CARNWARTH, to him the Viscount KENMURE, to him the Lord NAIRN; and this unhappy rank was closed on the right by the Deputy Lieutenant of the Tower. I should have told you that there was a structure particularly appointed on the left of the prisoners, for the accommodation of the Managers of the House of Commons, in case any thing material should be offered, to which it might lie upon them to reply. You must form to yourself, how every heart would beat, during the awful silence and suspense of so many persons assembled to hear nothing but a sentence of death pronounced against such a number of Peers, who stood now disabled and unarmed, beseeching mercy, one by one, and acknowledging they deserved it not. Their quality, change of condition, the vigour of their days,
and

and the present inability to offend further, pleaded very strongly to a good-natured and generous people, who are quick to anger, but slow to revenge. The youth of one *, the equanimity of another, the plain honesty in the countenance of a third, the pathetic simplicity and sorrow of a fourth, and nothing but what was to be pitied in a fifth, the sixth expressing only despair, jointly and severally moved the heart in behalf of each and all of them. But when they had all said what they could to excite pity, and frankly, after being asked in direct words, acknowledged they had nothing to say in arrest of judgment; the Lord High Steward, though he felt as much of it as any man in the assembly, abated a vicious compassion in a full answer to all that had been said in their behalf, and in conclusion, with a voice and air of as deep and indisssembled sorrow as they were in upon whom he pronounced it, uttered the fatal sentence. I inclose to you the speech itself †, and will not so far transgress upon your judgement, as to think it needs being commended to you.

I must pass therefore to things of lower consideration, and acquaint you, that I shall soon send you what you have so long wished for, a new Comedy, written with wit, humour, good sense, good breeding, and knowledge of the

* Earl of DERWENTWATER. See p. 142.

† See this at length, in p. 142. & seqq.

world. It was delivered by the Author to the Governor of the Royal Company of Comedians, under the seal of secrecy as to the name of its Writer*; for it seems, though it is thus excellent, the spirit of it is too fine, and the characters drawn with too much delicacy, to be attended to by an audience, who require violence and extravagance to awaken them to delight. The whole is like a Tale told by a well-bred gentleman, who pleases you in every part of it, but neglects to make you laugh in any. I should rather say, that as ridiculous as many parts of this Play are, they are ridiculous only to polite people; and the Author is loth to trust his reputation in doing a thing, which he might have left alone, to the hazard of a giddy multitude; and therefore hopes, from the endeavours of the gentleman to whom he delivered his Play on the first days of its appearance, to be tried by his peers in a jury or select audience of sensible men and women.

I could hardly forbear beginning this Epistle with letting you know, that we have had lately a Masquerade, where your humble servant made one; and the advantage of having been at it has more and more convinced me of my old maxim, That the interest of society has been

* "The Drummer," the Comedy here alluded to, was published by STEVLE. See his Epistolary Correspondence, vol. II. p. 448.

all along lessened by the false notions of sullen men, who rob it of the best kind of vehicle, well regulated pleasure. When people of an affluent fortune, who think fit to regale and please their friends, without being troubled with the thanks, ceremonies, and civilities of such a public benefice, find a way to be guests at their own table, and indulge a noble disposition by obliging in *masquerade*; I say, when people who are able are thus inclined, and take proper measures for securing an assembly who understand decency and breeding, what can be a more pleasing and elegant entertainment than to see a crowd of such delighted, at one's own expence, without the painful and fulsome returns of compliments and adulations?

I was never more taken with ARTHUR's behaviour than this night, when I perceived he had discovered AMORETT in the habit of a Shepherds. It had been natural for a less skilful Lover to have surpris'd his mistress on such an occasion, and immediately to have address'd her with those brisk approaches of familiarity, which men, who are not restrained by the sense that they are allowed liberty under a man of quality's roof, because they are suppos'd to know how to use it, would be apt to make use of. But here ARTHUR's peculiar right understanding prevail'd, and he had the art to make his discretion subservient to the interests of his Love. Instead

of shewing by the least circumstance his knowledge of AMORETT, he applied himself to a pretty milkmaid, who sat by her, and seemed to be of her company; ARTHUR, who knows as exactly as any man all the windings and turns of female conversation, and can lead the discourse to what point he pleases, decoyed the fair *Rustic*, after having interrupted him with a thousand agreeable pertnesses, into a settled attention and desire to hear him entertain her with an account of his own passion. You know, Madam, there is in your cousin's way of talk, a touch of breeding so respectful and insinuating, that the vainest of your sex can hear him with pleasure, even while he is not making love to themselves; I have known a very gigler express an air of satisfaction when he has been speaking plain sense. In this particular incident, his manner of expressing to one he did not love the charms of one he did, the descriptions he gave of his own flame. and of AMORETT's beauty, had something so touching, that one could not but wish him success. The nymph herself whom he thus artfully made his confidante could not forbear saying. "she was of opinion, the Lady who had engaged his affections, must needs be happy in such a Lover" His Mistress's curiosity, you will conclude, was sufficiently alarmed by a concurrence of all these tender circumstances; but



but however, she dissembled so genteely, and behaved herself with such a carelessness and seeming inadvertency of what passed, as left ARTHUR in no small embarrassment. He resolved to explain with her upon this subject, and accordingly, the next day, wrote her the following Letter :

“ MADAM,

“ I AM afflicted to the last degree with the
 “ reflection, that either you did not know me
 “ last night, or that you were capable with so
 “ much ease to dissemble that knowledge. You
 “ could not imagine yourself concealed from
 “ me. Could you think the neck, or hand, or
 “ arm of AMORETT did not distinguish you
 “ from all others, as much as those eyes, and
 “ that countenance ? Had you been veiled from
 “ head to foot, would it not have been AMO-
 “ RETT that moved ? Did not you hear me say,
 “ the watchman that passed by was a man of
 “ quality ? And do you think the air and mien
 “ which I approve in my own sex can impress
 “ so strong an image as not to be drowned by
 “ the difference of rags and robes, and she I
 “ love be hid in a dress quite as beautiful as
 “ her usual one, and only more humble ? Believe
 “ me, AMORETT, that dress could no more dis-
 “ guise you from my eyes, than that fortune
 “ could estrange you from my heart. The
 “ female

“ female world marched by me in disheveled
 “ tresses, flowing garbs, and gaudy gems. What
 “ did their gems, their tresses, and their robes,
 “ but make me say, How much better would
 “ those become AMORETT ! And should I not
 “ know AMORETT, who in the simplicity of
 “ plain habit and meer neatness, with an in-
 “ solence of beauty, knew she should surpass
 “ them all ? It is enough that I let you under-
 “ stand I knew you ; and in return for your
 “ being so obdurate or so careless as not to ac-
 “ knowledge me, take notice that I have re-
 “ venged myself of you, and given imagination
 “ so much liberty as to fancy I ruffled a kiss
 “ from you when a country girl, and carried
 “ this to a poetical licence of writing the fol-
 “ lowing SONG on the imaginary occasion.

“ BY what power did she enslave me !
 “ Pretty maid, the kiss she gave me !
 “ On her lips the ruby glow’d,
 “ And the breath of violets blow’d ;
 “ Swell’d with moist and balmy heat ;
 “ All was honey, melting sweet :
 “ Boundless joys e’en now I prove,
 “ For I drank a world of Love :
 “ Wanton, madding with the bliss,
 “ Still I taste the charming kiss.

“ Forgive the freedom of, Madam, your most
 “ obedient and most devoted humble servant.”

Now

Now I have given you a recital of Poetry,
 you must let this Paper conclude with some
 which has been before recommended to you *,
 designed to be performed at the CENSORIUM
 on the Prince's Birth-day.

ODE for the PRINCE'S BIRTH-DAY †.

WHEN CHURCHILL on Onarda's plain
 The powers of Europe led ;
 When slaughter stalk'd on heaps of slain,
 And Virtue greatly bled :

'Twas then the blooming Prince, ordain'd
 By Fate to Britain's Throne,
 In arms immortal honours gain'd,
 And won the Victor's crown.

His glittering steel he shook, and vow'd
 By CAROLINA's eyes,
 To stain it in his Rival's blood,
 And gain the destin'd prize.

" Britons, assert your Country's cause,"
 The youthful Warrior cried ;
 " You fight for Freedom and for Laws :
 " For those your Fathers died."

Then rushing on, in crowds of foes,
 Through track of Death he ran ;
 His courage with his danger grows :
 Hero as soon as Man !

* See pp. 88. 90.

† By LEONARD WELSTED, Esq. See p. 88.

Whilst he each dreadful scene review'd,
 His Rival hid his head :
 Whilst he with graceful wrath pursued,
 The pale Impostor fled:

Behold Britannia's promis'd Heir!
 Behold him cover'd o'er
 With all the glorious dust of war,
 And stain'd with comely gore!

While martial sounds his ear delight,
 And rouse him as they swell;
 Amidst the fury of the fight
 His wounded courser fell.

In that distress'd and dubious hour,
 All cover'd with despair,
 Alarm'd was England's Guardian Power,
 And sav'd his royal care.

“ Victorious Youth, to greatness born,”
 The smiling Genius said!

“ Oh! fated Empire to adorn,
 “ And Albion's fame to spread!

“ Thy shining virtues to reward,
 “ And bless a martial land,

“ A diadem thy brow shall guard,
 “ A sceptre grace thy hand.

“ Let the glad day, which gave Thee light,
 “ The symphonies prolong:

“ While Poets thy great deeds recite,
 “ And Oudnard's the song.

“ To

“ To Harmony and Fame that day
 “ Shall ever sacred be ;
 “ And every Muse devote a lay
 “ To Oudenard and Thec.”

I am, &c.

N. B. This Paper, for the future, will be published every Wednesday * after this next ensuing.

* “ On Monday last was published, The *TOWN-TALK*, N^o IX. containing Remarks on the late Proceedings in Westminster-Hall, the *Maskerades*, New Comedy, &c. and will be published for the future every Wednesday. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Where may be had complete Sets, and likewise the British Subjects answer to the Pretender’s Declaration.” Postman, Feb. 18, 1715-16.

STEELE seems to have been trying what day the publication would suit best. He began N^o I. on a *Saturday* ; N^o II. on a *Friday* ; N^o IX. on a *Monday*. There is reason to believe, however, that THIS was the last Number of the *TOWN-TALK* that appeared. On the 6th of March, 1715-16, was advertised “ *CHIT-CHAT*, instead of *TOWN-TALK*, addressed to the same Lady in the Country, and concluding with an Argument concerning the Executed Lords, N^o I. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Price 3d.” The SECOND and THIRD Numbers were also advertised on the 10th and 16th of March. But neither of these, though diligently sought after, has yet been found by the writer of this note, who is very desirous to furnish the Publick with a complete edition of ALL STEELE’S *Writings*.

*** “ This day is published, A Letter to a Member, concerning the condemned Lords, in vindication of Gentlemen calumniated in the St. James’s Post, Friday March 2, Price 3d. Sold by J. Roberts, &c. Where may be had, complete Sets of the *TOWN-TALK*.” Postman March 6, 1715-16.

“ This day is published, *CHIT-CHAT*, N^o II. in a Letter to a Lady in the Country, wherein is contained the Argument concerning saving or executing the Rebels. By HUMPHRY PHILROY.” Ibid. March 10.

“ This day is published, *CHIT CHAT*, in a Letter to a Lady in the Country, N^o III. wherein some Observations are made of the present Treatment of Sir RICHARD STEELE. To be published every Friday.” St. James’s Post, March 16, 1715-16.

The

The **SPEECH** of Lord Chancellor **COWPER**,
when he passed Sentence on the Six
Condemned Lords, Feb. 9, 1715-16.

“ **JAMES** Earl of **DERWENTWATER**, **WILLIAM** Lord **WIDDRINGTON**, **WILLIAM** Earl of **NITHSDALE**, **ROBERT** Earl of **CARNWATH**, **WILLIAM** Viscount **KENMURE**, and **WILLIAM** Lord **NAIRN**; you stand impeached of High Treason by the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled; which Treason is contained in the Articles that have been lately read. To this you have severally pleaded guilty, and are thereby convicted. What say you, **JAMES** Earl of **DERWENTWATER**, why judgement should not pass upon you according to law?”

Hereupon the Earl of **DERWENTWATER** *
spoke as follows :

* **JAMES RATCLIFFE** Earl of **DERWENTWATER** was only in his 29th year. He was the grandson of an Actress [**Mrs. MARY DAVIES**], taken off the Stage by King **CHARLES II.** by whom that King had a daughter, **MARY TUDOR**; who marrying **FRANCIS** Lord **RATCLIFFE**, eldest son of the first Earl of **DERWENTWATER**, was the mother of our ill-fated young Peer. His grandfather Sir **Francis Ratcliffe**, of **Keswick** in **Cumberland**, baronet, was created Earl of **Derwentwater**, Viscount **Radcliffe** and **Langley**, 1687-8; and died in 1696. The second Earl died in 1705. The unfortunate hero of our tale married **Anna Maria**, daughter of Sir **John Webb**, baronet; and was executed, agreeably to his sentence, on **Tower-hill**, Feb. 24, 1715-16.

I only

“ I only beg leave of my noble Peers to repeat a few circumstances mentioned in my answer to the Articles of impeachment exhibited against me by the honourable House of Commons.

“ But the terrors of your Lordships’ just sentence, which at once deprive me of my life and estate, and compleat the misfortunes of my wife and innocent children, are so heavy upon my mind, together with my inexperience, that I am scarce able to alledge what may extenuate my offence, if any thing can do it. I have confessed myself guilty; but, my Lords, that guilt was rashly incurred, without any premeditation, as I hope your Lordships will be convinced by one particular. I beg leave to observe, I was wholly unprovided with men, horses, arms, and other necessaries, which, in my situation, I could not have wanted, had I been privy to any formed design. As my offence was sudden, so my submission was early. When his Majesty’s Generals thought fit to demand hostages for securing the terms of the cessation, I voluntarily offered myself, without which the cessation might possibly have proved ineffectual. And whilst I continued hostage, the great character of his Majesty’s clemency, and the repeated encouragement I had to hope for mercy, by surrendering to it,

D

144 SPEECH OF LORD CHANCELLOR COWPER,

soon determined me, and I accordingly declared my resolution to remain with his Majesty's forces, and from that time submitted myself to his goodness, on which I still entirely depend. I humbly hope to obtain the mediation of your Lordships and of the honourable House of Commons in my behalf; solemnly protesting my future conduct shall shew me not altogether unworthy your generous compassion for my life, which is all I can beg of his Majesty."

Then the Lord High Steward said, "My Lord, DERWENTWATER, your Lordship's voice hath not been perfectly heard to this end of the court; therefore I ask you whether you have pleaded any thing in arrest of judgement?" To which the Lord DERWENTWATER answered, "No, my Lords."

After this, the Lord High Steward said; "Lord WIDDRINGTON *, what have you to say for yourself, why judgement should not pass upon you according to law?" To which the Lord WIDDRINGTON answered as follows :

* WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, descended from an honourable family of that name in Northumberland, was the grandson of the first baron of that name, who for his signal services was raised to the Peerage in 1643 by King Charles I. and lost his life near Wigan, in fighting for King Charles II. He was succeeded in the title by his son WILLIAM; and he by WILLIAM the last Lord, who fortunately escaped with his life, but was attainted.

" My

“ My Lords, I have abandoned all manner of defence ever since I first surrendered myself to his Majesty’s royal clemency ; and only now beg leave to repeat to your Lordships some circumstances of my unhappy case, which I have already set forth in my answer.

“ Your Lordships see before you an unfortunate man, who, after leading a private and retired life for many years, has, by one rash and inconsiderate action, exposed himself and his family to the greatest calamities and misery, and is now upon the point of receiving the severest sentence directed by any of our English laws.

“ I do protest to your Lordships, that I was never privy to any concerted measures against his majesty’s royal person, or the established government. As to the insurrection in Northumberland, I only heard of it accidentally the night before it happened ; and being soon after informed that all my neighbours and acquaintance had met in arms, a crowd of confused and mistaken notions hurried me at once into a precipitate resolution of joining them ; a resolution, which, I must own, I could never since calmly reflect upon, without part of that confusion I find myself under in the public acknowledgement of so much rashness and folly. After thus plunging out of my depth, as unprepared for such an enterprize as the action was

unpremeditated, I cannot, for my own particular, upon the strictest recollection, charge myself with any violation of the properties of my fellow-subjects; but, on the contrary, I always endeavoured to encourage humanity and moderation during the whole course of our miserable expedition; and, in order to make the best atonement in my power for the great fault I had been guilty of, I can justly say, that I was in no small degree instrumental in procuring a submission to his Majesty. But, my Lords, however willing or desirous either I or any others might be to put a speedy end to those unfortunate troubles, self-preservation, the first and most powerful law of nature, would have rendered the proposal vain and fruitless, had not the officers who commanded the royal forces given us hopes of mercy, and assured us we submitted to a Prince of the greatest clemency in the world. These hopes, and this assurance, answered the strongest objections, overcame all remaining difficulties, and gave the finishing stroke to a general surrender, whereby the further effusion of British blood was prevented, and a perfect tranquillity restored to these parts of his Majesty's dominions.

“ My Lords, as this my first attempt was rash and unpremeditated, as I always used and promoted moderation and humanity towards my fellow-

fallen-subjects, and as I did not obstinately persist in my fault, but was the first who proposed an early submission to his Majesty; I humbly hope my unhappy case, and the deplorable condition of my unfortunate children, already deprived of their tender mother, will raise a generous compassion in your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons; and I most earnestly entreat both your Lordships and that honourable House to become intercessors with his Majesty in my behalf, for that mercy which I was encouraged to hope for when I first surrendered, and which I have ever since with the utmost confidence relied upon.

“ I have only to add my most solemn assurance, before this august Assembly, that no future time shall ever find me wanting in the most inviolable duty and gratitude to that merciful Prince who gives me my life, and restores a father to five miserable and distressed orphans; and I shall always retain the highest esteem and veneration for your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons.”

Hereupon the Lord High Steward said, “ Lord WIDDINGTON, for greater certainty, I ask your Lordship whether you have pleaded any thing in arrest of judgement?” To which the Lord WIDDINGTON answered, “ No, my Lords, I have not.”

Then the Lord High Steward said, “WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE *, what hath your Lordship to say for yourself, why judgement should not pass upon you according to law ?” Whereupon the Earl of NITHSDALE spoke as follows :

“My Lords, I have confessed myself guilty, relying only on his Majesty’s mercy ; and I beg leave to assure your Lordships, I was never privy to any plot or design against his Majesty’s person or government, and was unprovided with any necessaries for such a purpose ; but rashly and inconsiderately, with only four of my servants, joined those who appeared in arms in my neighbourhood, and was one of the last who went unto them.

“At Preston, my Lords, his Majesty’s generals gave great hopes and encouragement to believe that surrendering to his Majesty’s mercy was the ready way to obtain it ; with repeated assurances that his Majesty was a Prince of the greatest clemency.

“Upon those hopes and assurances I submitted myself, and still entirely depend on his Majesty’s

* WILLIAM MAXWELL, Earl of NITHSDALE, Lord MAXWELL and HERRIS, was ordered for execution, Feb. 24; but was fortunate enough to escape out of the Tower, disguised in a riding-hood and in women’s apparel. He afterward joined the Pretender at Avignon ; and died in 1744, an exile at Rome. He married WINIFRED, youngest daughter of WILLIAM Marquis of POWIS ; by whom he left a son WILLIAM Lord MAXWELL, who died August 15, 1776.

goodness,

goodness, earnestly beseeching your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons to intercede with his Majesty on my behalf.

“ And I solemnly promise your Lordships, I shall, during the remainder of my life, pay the utmost duty and gratitude to his most gracious Majesty, and the highest veneration and respect to your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons.”

Hereupon the Lord High Steward said, “ I must also ask your Lordship (your Lordship’s voice not reaching thus far), whether you have pleaded any thing in arrest of judgement?” To which the Earl of NITHSDALE answering, “ No, my Lords, I have not.”

The Lord High Steward went on, and said, “ Lord CARNWATH *, what have you to say for yourself why judgement should not pass upon you according to law?” Upon which the Lord CARNWATH spoke as follows :

“ My Lords, I shall not trouble this great assembly with a repetition of what I said when formerly before your Lordships and his Majesty’s council.

“ I hope these noble Lords entertain that favourable opinion of my sincere dealing, to be-

* ROBERT DALZIEL, sixth Earl of CARNWATH. He was attainted ; but had both life and his estates remitted to him ; and died in 1737, aged about 84. He had been four times married.

lieve that want of experience and knowledge of the laws was the great inducement of engaging in this fatal and unhappy undertaking.

“ The only thing I can hope or wish for is his Majesty’s mercy. He has the character of a merciful Prince ; should it please him to think me a proper object for it (though I must confess myself a very unworthy one), all I can say, my Lords, is, that the remainder of my life shall convince his Majesty, and all the world, of my true penitence and gratitude.

“ My Lords, I am yet an unworthy member of this great body, the Peerage, now expecting your Lordships judgment as to life or death. Should it be for life, my demeanour and carriage for the future will be such as none of your Lordships shall be ashamed of having shewed me compassion ; but, should it be for death, God’s will be done ; to my last hour I shall pray for the nation’s and your Lordships’ prosperity ; having this comfort in my present distress, that your Lordships are my judges at this tribunal ; and yet a greater comfort have I, that I am soon to appear before a greater, where I cannot despair of finding mercy and forgiveness for all my sins.

“ I beg God Almighty’s pardon for them ; I have already asked his Majesty’s, and I do it now ; and do humbly beg leave, once more, and perhaps

perhaps the last occasion that ever I shall have, to desire that your Grace, this Noble House, and the honourable Commons of Great Britain, who are now here, would intercede with his Majesty for me.

“I take my leave of your Lordships, and wish you all happiness.”

Being asked by the Lord High Steward, whether his Lordship had any thing to offer in arrest of judgement, he said, “No, my Lords.”

Then the Lord High Steward having asked the Lord Viscount KENMURE *, what he had to say for himself why judgement should not pass upon him according to law; his Lordship spoke thus:

“My Lords, I am truly sensible of my crime, and want words to express my repentance. God knows I never had any personal prejudice against his Majesty, nor was I ever accessory to any previous design against him. I humbly beg my noble Peers and the honourable House of Commons to intercede with the King for mercy to me, that I may live to shew myself the dutifullest of his subjects, and to be the means to keep my wife and four small children from starving; the thoughts of which, with my

* WILLIAM GORDON, Viscount KENMURE, and Baron of Lochmure, was executed Feb. 24, at the age of 62. His estate, but not the title, was restored to his son ROBERT.

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crime, makes me the most unfortunate of all
gentlemen."

Hereupon the Lord High Steward said, "My
Lord, your voice not being heard to this end of
the court, I would know whether, in what you
have said, you have offered any thing in arrest
of judgement?" To which his Lordship answer-
ing, "No, my Lords."

The Lord High Steward said, Lord NAIRN *,
what have you to say for yourself why judgement
should not pass upon you according to law?" To
which the Lord NAIRN answered as follows:

"I am very sensible how unfit I am to plead
my own cause before your Grace (my Lord
High Steward), and this august Assembly; and
therefore, though I could say much to extenuate
the crime for which I stand impeached, yet I
chuse rather to lay my whole stress upon the
King's mercy, for which he is so renowned, and
which I was put in hopes of at the time of my
surrender. In consideration whereof, and in
compassion to an afflicted wife and twelve
children, I still hope, by the mediation of
your Grace, my noble Lords, and the ho-

* WILLIAM Lord NAIRN, brother to the Duke of ATHOL, was con-
demned; but received several successive respites till 1717, when he was
included in the act of grace, and had his estate, but not his title, restored.
He died in 1725, aged more than 80. His son, the titular Lord, engaging
in the next rebellion, was killed at Culloden, April 16, 1746.

nourable House of Commons, I may obtain it; solemnly protesting, that in gratitude for so signal a deliverance I will, to the end of my life, remain a dutiful and obedient subject to his most gracious and sacred Majesty King George."

The Lord High Steward having asked him, whether his Lordship had offered any thing in arrest of judgement; the Lord NAIRN answered, "No, my Lords."

And then, the Serjeant at arms having made proclamation for Silence, the Lord High Steward spoke in the manner following :

"JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE, ROBERT Earl of CARNWARTH, WILLIAM Viscount KENMURE, WILLIAM Lord NAIRN !

"You stand impeached, by the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, of High Treason, in traiterously imagining and compassing the death of his most Sacred Majesty, and in conspiring, for that end, to levy a bloody and destructive war against his Majesty, in order to depose and murder him; and in levying war accordingly, and proclaiming a PRETENDER to his crown to be King of these realms.

"Which impeachment, though one of your Lordships,

Lordships, in the introduction to his plea, supposes to be out of the ordinary and common course of the law and justice, is yet as much a course of proceeding according to the common law as any other whatsoever.

“ If you had been indicted, the indictment must have been removed and brought before the House of Lords (the Parliament sitting). In that case you had (it is true) been accused only by the Grand Jury of one county; in the present, the whole body of the Commons of Great Britain, by their representatives, are your accusers.

“ And this circumstance is very observable (to exclude all possible supposition of hardship as to the method of proceeding against you) that, however all great assemblies amongst us are apt to differ on other points, you were impeached by the unanimous opinion of the House of Commons (not one contradicting).

“ They found themselves, it seems, so much concerned in the preservation of his most truly Sacred Majesty, and the Protestant Succession (the very life and soul of these kingdoms), that they could not omit the first opportunity of taking their proper part, in order to so signal and necessary an act of his Majesty's justice.

“ And thus the whole body politic of this free kingdom has in a manner rose up in its own defence,

defence, for the punishment of those crimes, which it was rightly apprehended had a direct tendency to the everlasting dissolution of it.

“ To this impeachment you have severally pleaded, and acknowledged yourselves guilty of the High Treason therein contained.

“ Your pleas are accompanied with some variety of matter, to mitigate your offences, and to obtain mercy.

“ Part of which (as some of the circumstances said to have attended your surrender; seeming to be offered rather as arguments only for mercy, than any thing in mitigation of your preceding guilt) is not proper for me to take notice of.

“ But as to the other part, which is meant to extenuate the crimes of which you are convicted, it is fit I should take this occasion to make some observations to your Lordships upon it; to the end that the judgement to be given against you may clearly appear to be just and righteous, as well as legal; and that you may not remain under any fatal error in respect of a greater Judicature, by reflecting with less horror and remorse on the guilt you have contracted than it really deserves.

“ It is alledged by some of your Lordships; that you engaged in this Rebellion without previous concert or deliberation, and without suitable preparations of men, horses, and arms.

“ If this should be supposed true, on some of your Lordships averring it ; I desire you to consider, that as it exempts you from the circumstance of contriving this Treason, so it very much aggravates your guilt in that part you have undoubtedly borne in the execution of it.

“ For it shews, that your inclinations to rebel were so well known (which could only be from a continued series of your words and actions), that the contrivers of that horrid design depended upon you, and therein judged rightly. That your zeal to engage in this Treason was so strong, as to carry you into it on the least warning, and the very first invitation. That you would not excuse yourselves by want of preparation, as you might have done ; and that, rather than not have a share in the Rebellion, you would plunge yourselves into it, almost naked and unprovided for such an enterprize. In short, that your men, horses, and arms, were not so well prepared as they might and would have been on longer warning, but your minds were. :

“ It is alledged also, as an extenuation of your crime, that no cruel or harsh action (I suppose is meant no rapine or plunder, or worse) has been committed by you.

“ This may in part only be true. But then your Lordships will at the same time consider, that the laying waste a tract of land bears but a little

little proportion in point of guilt, compared with the crime of which you stand convicted, an open attempt to destroy the best of Kings, to ruin the whole fabrick, and raze the very foundation of a government, the best suited of any in the world to perfect the happiness, and support the dignity, of human nature. The former offence causes but a mischief that is soon recovered, and is usually pretty much confined; the latter, had it succeeded, must have brought a lasting and universal destruction on the whole kingdom.

“ Besides, much of this was owing to accidents; your march was so hasty, partly to avoid the King’s troops, and partly from a vain hope to stir up insurrections in all the counties you passed through, that you had not time to spread devastation, without deviating from your main; and, as I have observed, much worse design.

“ Farther: It is very surprizing that any concerned in this rebellion should lay their engaging in it on the government’s doing a necessary and usual act in like cases, for its preservation, the giving orders to confine such as were most likely to join in that treason. It is hard to believe that any one should rebel, merely to avoid being restrained from rebelling; or that a gentle confinement would not much better have suited a crazy state of health, than the fatigues

158 **SPEECH OF LORD CHANCELLOR COWPER,**
signes and inconveniencies of such long and hasty
marches in the depth of winter.

“ Your Lordships rising in arms, therefore,
has much more justified the prudence and fitness
of those orders, than those orders will any wise
serve to mitigate your treason. Alas! happy
had it been for all your Lordships had you fallen
under so indulgent a restraint.

“ When your Lordships shall in good earnest
apply yourselves to think impartially on your
case, surely you will not yourselves believe that
it is possible, in the nature of the thing, to be
engaged, and continue so long engaged, in such
a difficult and laborious enterprize through rash-
ness, surprise, or inadvertency; or that, had the
attack at Preston been less sudden (and conse-
quently the rebels better prepared to receive it),
your Lordships had been reduced the sooner,
and with less, if not without any bloodshed.

“ No, my Lords, these, and such like, are
artful colourings, proceeding from minds filled
with expectation of continuing in this world;
and not from such as are preparing for their de-
fence before a tribunal where the thoughts of
the heart, and the true springs and causes of
actions, must be laid open.

“ And now, my Lords, having thus removed
some false colours you have used, to assist you
yet further in that necessary work of thinking
on

on your great offence as you ought, I proceed to touch upon several circumstances that seem greatly to aggravate their crime, and which will deserve your most serious consideration.

“ The divine virtues (it is one of your Lordships own epithets) which all the world, as well as your Lordships, acknowledge to be in his Majesty, and which you now lay claim to, ought certainly to have with-held your hands from endeavouring to depose, to destroy, to murder that most excellent Prince; so the impeachment speaks, and so the law construes your actions; and this is not only true in the notion of law, but almost always so in deed and reality. It is a trite, but very true remark, that there are but few hours between Kings being reduced under the power of pretenders to their crown, and their graves. Had you succeeded, his Majesty’s case would, I fear, have hardly been an exception to that general rule, since it is highly improbable that flight should have saved any of that illustrious and valiant family.

“ It is a farther aggravation of your crime, that his Majesty, whom your Lordships would have dethroned, affected not the crown by force, or by the arts of ambition, but succeeded peaceably and legally to it; and, on the decease of her late Majesty without issue, became undoubtedly the next, in course of descent, capable of suc-

ceeding to the Crown, by the law and constitution of this kingdom; as it stood declared some years before, the crown was expressly limited to the House of Hanover. This right was acknowledged, and the descent of the crown limited or confirmed accordingly, by the whole Legislature, in two successive reigns; and more than once in the latter, which your Lordships' accomplices are very far from allowing would bias the nation to that side.

“How could it then enter into the heart of men, to think that private persons might with a good conscience endeavour to subvert such a settlement by running to tumultuary arms, and by intoxicating the dregs of the people with contradictory opinions, and groundless slanders, or that God's Providence would ever prosper such wicked, such ruinous attempts?

“Especially if in the next place it be considered, that the most fertile inventions on the side of the Rebellion have not been able to assign the least shadow of a grievance as the cause of it. To such poor shifts have they been reduced on this head, that, for want of better colours, it has been objected, in a solemn manner, by your Lordships' associates, to his Majesty's government, that his people do not enjoy the fruits of peace, as our neighbours have done since the last war. Thus they first rob us of our peace,
and

and then upbraid us that we have it not. It is a monstrous Rebellion that can find no fault with the Government it invades, but what is the effect of the Rebellion itself.

“ Your Lordships will likewise do well to consider what an additional burthen your Treason has made necessary on the people of this kingdom, who wanted, and were about to enjoy, some respite. To this end it is well known, that all new or increase of taxes were the last year carefully avoided ; and his Majesty was contented to have no more forces than were just sufficient to attend his person, and shut the gates of a few garrisons.

“ But what his Majesty thus did for the ease and quiet of his people, you most ungratefully turned to his disadvantage, by taking encouragement from thence to endanger his and his kingdom’s safety, and to bring oppression on your fellow-subjects.

“ Your Lordships observe, I avoid expatiating on the miseries of a Civil War, a very large and copious subject. I shall but barely suggest to you on that head, that, whatever those calamities may happen to be in the present case, all who are at any time, or in any place, partakers in the Rebellion (especially persons of figure and distinction) are in some degree responsible for them; and therefore your Lordships must not hold yourselves quite clear from the

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guilt

guilt of those barbarities which have been lately committed by such as are engaged in the same. Treason with you, and not yet perfectly reduced, in burning the habitations of their countrymen, and thereby exposing many thousands to cold and hunger in this rigorous season.

“ I must be so just to such of your Lordships as profess the Religion of the Church of Rome, that you had one temptation, and that a great one, to engage you in this treason, which the others had not; in that it was evident, success on your part must for ever have established Popery in this kingdom, and that probably you could never have again so fair an opportunity.

“ But then, good God! how must those Protestants be covered with confusion, who entered into the same measures, without so much as capitulating for their Religion (that ever I could find from any examination I have seen or heard), or so much as requiring, much less obtaining, a frail promise that it should be preserved, or even tolerated.

“ It is my duty to exhort your Lordships thus to think of the aggravations as well as the mitigations (if there be any) of your offences; and if I could have the least hopes that the prejudices of habit and education would not be too strong for the most earnest and charitable entreaties, I would beg you not to rely any longer on those
directors

directors of your consciences, by whose conduct you have very probably been led into this miserable condition; but that your Lordships would be assisted by some of those pious and learned Divines of the Church of England, who have constantly bore that infallible mark of sincere Christians, universal charity.

“ And now, my Lords, nothing remains, but that I pronounce upon you (and sorry I am that it falls to my lot to do it) that terrible sentence of the law, which must be the same that is usually given against the meanest offender in the like kind.

“ The most ignominious and painful parts of it are usually remitted, by the grace of the Crown, to persons of your quality; but the law in this case, being deaf to all distinctions of persons, requires I should pronounce, and accordingly it is adjudged by this Court,

“ That you, JAMES Earl of DERWENTWATER, WILLIAM Lord WIDDRINGTON, WILLIAM Earl of NITHSDALE, ROBERT Earl of CARNWATH, WILLIAM Viscount KENMURE, and WILLIAM Lord NAIRN, and every of you, return to the prison of the Tower from whence you came; from thence you must be drawn to the place of execution; when you come there, you

must be hanged by the neck, but not till you be dead; for you must be cut down alive, then your bowels must be taken out, and burnt before your faces. Then your heads must be severed from your bodies, and your bodies divided each into four quarters; and these must be at the King's disposal.

“ And God Almighty be merciful to your souls!”

At the end of this speech, the Serjeant at Arms made proclamation for silence; after which, the Lord High Steward stood up, uncovered; and declaring there was nothing more to be done by virtue of the present commission, broke the Staff, and pronounced it dissolved.

*** Just published, Remarks on Sir RICHARD STEELE's Dedication to the Pope; to which is prefixed, a Dedication to the said Sir RICHARD. Post-boy, Feb. 25, 1715-16.

A

LETTER TO A MEMBER *, &c.

Concerning the Condemned Lords,

In Vindication of Gentlemen calumniated
in the St. James's Post † of Friday
March the 2d.

S I R,

March 6, 1715-16.

I PRESUME to make this address to you
in vindication of an Assembly, who, how-
ever they differ in other particulars, agree in the
most profound respect for you: for which
reason,

* This was addressed to SPENCER COMPTON, Esq; then Speaker of
the House of Commons.

† While the Publick were in doubtful expectation about the fate of
the six condemned Lords, in whose behalf great solicitations were made
both with the Court and with the Members of the two Houses of Parlia-
ment, particularly in favour of the Earl of DERWENTWATER; on
Monday the 13th of February in the evening, the Countess of NITHS-
DALE and the Lord NAIRN's Lady, watching an opportunity when the
King went through the apartments of his royal palace at St. James's,
behind a window-curtain, without being presented by the Lord of the
Bed-chamber in waiting as usual, on a sudden threw themselves at his
Majesty's feet, begging mercy for their husbands. This abrupt and ir-
regular application could not but surprize and shock both his Majesty
and those about him; and therefore proved as ineffectual as those which
had been made in a more becoming and artful manner: for on Thursday

reason, as well as that you preside in it, and are the representative of it, I lay before you the insolent treatment received without doors from "The St. James's Post," which was published on the 2d instant. The matter therein contained is of so nice a nature, that I dare not, though

on Friday following, a resolution was taken in Council to cause the sentence passed on the said Lords to be executed; for which purpose the necessary warrants and orders were on Saturday the 18th of February, sent both to the Lieutenant of the Tower, and to the Sheriffs of the City of London and County of Middlesex. The next morning the Countess of DERWENTWATER, attended by her sister, and accompanied by the Dutchesses of CLEVELAND, BOLTON, and several other Ladies of the first Rank and Distinction, was by the Dukes of RICHMOND and ST. ALBAN's introduced into his Majesty's Bed-chamber, where having waited till his Majesty returned from Chapel, she humbly implored his royal clemency for her unfortunate consort; and then withdrew. This moving object, together with the powerful and numerous intercession that backed the Countess of DERWENTWATER's petition, made certainly a great impression on the mind of a Prince naturally inclined to mercy; and it is the general opinion, that the Earl of DERWENTWATER had felt the effects of it, had he made an ingenuous discovery of the Conspiracy, in which he had been a principal actor. It is highly probable that the Countess of DERWENTWATER received no favourable answer from the Court; for on Tuesday the 21st of February, her Ladyship, with the Consorts of some other of the condemned Lords, and about twenty more Ladies of distinction, went to the Lobby of the House of Peers, to beg their Lordships' intercession; but the Lords did not then think fit to take notice of their petitions. The next morning, the Ladies in distress, with still a greater attendance than the day before, went to Westminster, to petition both houses of Parliament, wherein, by this time, not a few Members appeared inclined to mercy. Sir RICHARD STEELE among the rest offered one of those petitions, and made a long speech upon that subject in the House of Commons, and was seconded by Mr. STEPHEN PARGITER FULLER, (one of the representatives for Petersfield, and the author of some Papers in the TATLER), Mr. SHIPPEN, and some others; but they were opposed by all the leading Members of the prevailing side; and though a great many who used to vote with them did,

though a person more immediately concerned, go into the examination of it, except you will have the good-nature to allow me a small *postulatum* which this Author has taken, to wit, that we are now in Poland; for all the disguise he puts on is, to date *Sendomir* instead of the place in

on this critical occasion, go over to the other party, yet a motion being made, and the question put, that the House do adjourn till Thursday the first of March, the same was carried in the affirmative by a majority of seven voices only, that is 162 to 155. A few days after, there was published, in the *St. James's-Post*, a supposititious article from *Sendomir* in Poland, which was generally thought to have an eye to the present transactions in Great-Britain.

This account gave, it seems, great offence to several members, particularly to an ingenious gentleman who thought himself described and exposed under the name of CAVALIERO RISCO CHALYBSKY; and who thereupon published a pamphlet, intituled, "A Letter to a Member," &c. Whether that Gentleman acted on this occasion a prudent part, either in taking to himself, and resenting so highly, loose and indirect insinuations; or in reflecting so severely as he did on some men in power, whom he barely surmised to have countenanced the publishing of the said account from Poland; let others determine. Be that as it will, the Comforts of the condemned Lords were it seems more successful with the Peers than with the Commons. The Duke of RICHMOND, a near relation of the Earl of DERWENTWATER, and one of the Lords allowed by the House to assist him, could not refuse presenting a petition in his favour; but, at the same time, his Grace declared that he would be against it. The Earl of DERBY, out of commiseration for the numerous family of the Lord NAIRN, charged himself with a petition in his behalf; as other Lords did, upon the like or different motives, with other petitions. The question being put, whether the same should be received and read, there arose a great debate; in which the Lord Viscount TOWNSHEND, and several other Lords, who, upon all occasions, had given undoubted proofs of their unshaken affection to the present settlement, maintained the negative; but the Earl of NOTTINGHAM (to their great surprize) declaring for the affirmative, his weight, as President of the Council, drew to that side several well-meaning Peers; so that the question was carried by 9 or 10 voices. Political State, vol. XI. p. 234.

which we imagined ourselves to have been in, at the time the things he talks of were transacted.

You are used to the method of commending a man's self at the beginning of what he has to say, and therefore will not be surprized that in the entrance of this epistle I profess that I have long devoted myself to the service of my country, and am very much unconcerned at what possibly can be said of me, but as it may impair the little ability I have to do that service : and therefore, as I am in the most licentious manner represented as a malcontent, waging war with men in authority, and bribed to defend our enemies, I am obliged to stop, as well as I can, the course of so malicious a scandal. I beg of you again to remember we are in Poland ; and with that allowance admit me to say, I gave up, both in my opinion and discourse, the condemned persons, as authors and leaders of the rebellion, and considered them only as leaders of the submission, which is all I pretended to urge in their behalf : but that the advantage of this submission should be carried as far as it could go, I thought it highly concerned the honour of his Majesty, and the dignity of his government.

“ The prisoners submitted to the King, at
“ that time undoubtedly capable of shewing
“ them

“ them mercy. When they were in custody of
 “ the Government, they were impeached by our
 “ Assembly. As no-one ever imagined that men
 “ in their circumstances were the natural ob-
 “ jects of impeachments, or such as were in-
 “ tended by the famous act in that behalf ; so
 “ there was no reason, but the necessity of
 “ affairs, which could move the House to take
 “ the prosecution out of its ordinary course.
 “ Now that necessity is over, I thought it for
 “ the honour of the King, that the criminals
 “ should be capable of that mercy to which they
 “ submitted ; otherwise our enemies would have
 “ it to say, that the prisoners were brought into
 “ their present circumstances by an artifice :
 “ out of hopes of the King’s mercy they sub-
 “ mitted ; but the interposition of the Legi-
 “ slature made them incapable of that mercy ;
 “ so that this circumstance of the impeachment
 “ hurt the prerogative in its most amiable in-
 “ stance, that of forgiveness, and robbed the
 “ subject of the most valuable effect of it, the
 “ receiving that forgiveness.

“ When the enemy was put to flight, and all
 “ those reasons ceased, which induced the Legi-
 “ slature, for the common safety, to make this
 “ step, which so much concerned the prero-
 “ gative of the Prince, and liberty of the sub-
 “ ject ; I thought it my duty, in regard to the
 “ highest

“ highest and meanest of mankind, to act as I
 “ did.

“ These, Sir, were my true motives for de-
 “ firing that something might be done to ex-
 “ tricate unhappy men, who had nothing to
 “ plead in stay of execution, but submission
 “ and acknowledgment of their guilt. As in-
 “ considerable as that plea was, it was necessary
 “ and just that it should be made before a
 “ power capable of admitting or rejecting it;
 “ till this was done, had the prisoners more to
 “ offer, to merit the favour of their King and
 “ country, they could promise themselves no
 “ good effect for that service, since, according
 “ to some mens apprehension, there was no
 “ power in being legally capable of rewarding
 “ it with Mercy.—This I thought an inter-
 “ ruption of Government itself. It is for these
 “ thoughts, and these sentiments, that I am
 “ publicly calumniated, and suffer the same
 “ usage for defending the honour of the King
 “ and his government, now he is on the throne,
 “ as I did for doing my part towards securing
 “ his accession to it.—I have not entered into
 “ the question, Whether the prisoners are ob-
 “ jects of mercy, or not; I have contended
 “ only, that, if they were, or should become
 “ objects of mercy, the King might have it in
 “ his

“ his power, as well as I am sure it is in his
 “ inclination, to bestow it when deserved.

“ It would have been an endless reproach, to
 “ have had such an imperfection appeared in
 “ our Government, as that there was an instant
 “ wherein the power of punishing or pardoning
 “ for the good of the whole was lodged nowhere.
 “ As the thing stood in common acceptation,
 “ the whole state was under a difficulty and in-
 “ capacity of action as it should think fit for its
 “ own good and safety ; and it was every gentle-
 “ man’s duty to observe and propose what he
 “ apprehended was for its service in that per-
 “ plexity.

“ But the matter, from the discussion of it
 “ among the Patricians and Plebeians, has taken
 “ another turn ; and we have seen *punishment*
 “ *and the suspension of it*, upon the Condemned
 “ Lords, in this exigence of affairs, exerted by
 “ that power in which it was always lodged by
 “ the constitution of the realm ; and whatever
 “ may be the future construction of an article
 “ in a certain act, I am humbly of opinion, that
 “ in the present conjuncture, if the Ministers see
 “ cause, they may be well justified by their care
 “ of the whole, in advising the King to do what
 “ he shall think proper with the prisoners.

“ All that I aimed at is come to pass ; they
 “ now stand before a power disposed to receive

“and reward their future merit and past submission. And I am so far from repenting the part I had in this affair, that I should have been a more unhappy man if I had done otherwise; for I should have had the secret reproach in my own bosom, that, for fear of being mistaken by the powerful, I had neglected my duty to the miserable.”

This, Sir, is the sum of what I had to say, in order to state my behaviour before my countrymen in a clear view; and whether what I have offered had weight in it or not as to the matter then before us, it shews another motive than that to which my behaviour is imputed in the News-paper. Have your usual patience, and permit me to go on.

The St. James's-Post, speaking of the “Six Condemned Nobles,” and intimating that, by distributing large bribes to several Members, their petitions were received both by the Patricians and Plebeians,” goes on upon me in these words: “Among the latter a doubtful Knight, called *Cavaliero Risko Chalybeski*, who, over-rating his past services to the Saxon cause, has taken a disgust against the present Ministry for not gratifying his craving ambition, made a speech in behalf of the petitioners, and exhausted the common topicks of clemency and mercy. But the reputation
this

“ this gentleman had formerly gained by his
 “ writings being at a very low ebb, not only
 “ because he had of late made his pen a com-
 “ mon prostitute, but also by reason of his own
 “ private extravagances, at the same time that
 “ he assumed to himself the character of a
 “ Public Censor, no great stress was laid upon
 “ his threadbare Oratory. On the other hand,
 “ Monsieur *Walpeski* rightly judging, that the
 “ new friends, the Condemned Lords appeared
 “ to have in that Assembly, were procured by
 “ the same methods which had been ineffectual
 “ with himself, rose up, and said, He was moved
 “ with indignation, to see that there should be
 “ such unworthy members of that great body,
 “ who, could, without blushing, open their
 “ mouths in favour of rebels and parricides,
 “ who, far from making the least advance to-
 “ wards deserving favour by an ingenuous dis-
 “ covery of the bottom of the present horrid
 “ conspiracy, had rather aggravated their guilt,
 “ both by their sullen silence, and prevaricating
 “ answers : adding, that the Count *Dorawotzki*
 “ pretended and affirmed, that he went unpre-
 “ pared and unawares into this Rebellion ; yet,
 “ to his certain knowledge, he had been tam-
 “ pering with several people, to persuade them
 “ to rise in favour of Stanislaus, six months
 “ before he appeared in arms.

“ Monsieur *Walpeski* was seconded and backed by Seignior *Boscalli*, Seignior *Lescamerius*, and General *Stanoski*. The last said, among other things, It was with the most sensible concern he observed, That the Rebels were grown more formidable since they were taken and dismissed at Prestopoli, than they were before ; for it seems, they had gained advocates even among their prosecutors, and they had found means to divide an assembly which hitherto had acted with unparalleled unanimity and vigour for the public welfare.”

It is possible my frankness in writing for a cause, wherein they who should support me traduce and villify my endeavours, may make disregard to my own fame, for the sake of my country, appear to the vulgar, prostitution. But if I have made myself cheap, I am sure I have not made myself mercenary. If I were so, I should desire no greater reward than the liberty for one year, which the *Post* has taken for this day. Give me but leave to be at Sendomir when I please, without being called to an account for what I say in Middlesex, and it will soon appear whose oratory is most threadbare ; that of those who have long used it, or those who have just began the practice of it. Such an indulgence would be an ample fortune ; and the field is large enough to bring a crop worth
the

the labour of the husbandman : it would soon appear how much of a man's eloquence was owing to his station or his fortune, and how many orators there are who think themselves well heard, while they owe their being uninterrupted to the patience, not the respect, of their hearers: it would appear that the present state of eloquence in Poland is at a very low ebb, and that warming the house is only disturbing it. Orators would learn that it does not follow, that because they are in a passion, other people must be so too. Though it is finely said by a great master, that " if you would have me weep, you " must yourself be in grief."—That will not do of other passions, and particularly it would be unfortunate to be angry, to make others fight for you.

Such a licence would enable a man to shew empty creatures, that all their noise is owing to that emptiness ; and a little admonition might rouse men of sense and modesty to come into debates, and exert their reason in defence of their country. For certain it is, that in Poland, at this time, the men of the best sense are dumb, and the shallowest persons in the Assembly are most talkative. Some are silent, from an oppression under the choice of a great deal to say; and others are eloquent, from an ignorance that what they say is nothing to the purpose.

I am

I am glad the *Post* has done so much justice to the honourable persons he mentions in the recited paragraph. I shall not quarrel with him for a great opinion of mens abilities, whom I have endeavoured to celebrate before him; which I should have done perhaps as fortunately as he, if I had had so good intelligence; for I acknowledge the best way of applauding so great Orators, is to repeat their very words. As to what he says of the Under Treasurer, I congratulate the fair occasion that great officer took to refute the false imputation of corruption, against which I had always defended him; but I can say, at the same time, that no one affronted me so much as with the attempt to bribe me.

This News-writer makes no difficulty of accusing a number of the Diet (which he acknowledges to be by seven only less than all the rest of the Assembly) of being enemies to the Saxon line, of being bribed for their votes, or being followers of such as were. You know best what is to be done on such an occasion; and if so slight an artifice, as altering the scene by a date of place and time, shall shelter a man in belying men of honour, who are doing their duty in as nice a circumstance as perhaps has ever happened; it will be impossible for those who do not comply with the fashion, right or wrong, to be able to shew their faces, in their several countries.

countries. As for me, I have frequently declared, that I will take all merit to consist in the *regulation of the WILL*; and I will not trouble myself so much as to mention what is said of me as a *Writer at low ebb*, and the like. Whoever writes must be liable to whatever any reader thinks fit to say of him; but the case is altered when it comes to facts within the power of the *WILL*, as in matters of justice and integrity. It is not for me to say how I write, or speak; but it is for me to say, I do both *honestly*; and when I threw away some fame for letters and politeness, to serve the nobler ends of justice and government, I did not do it with a design to be as negligent of what should be said of me, with relation to my *Integrity* in support of those ends. No; wit and humour are the dress and ornament of the Mind; but honesty and truth are the *SOUL itself*, and the difference in a man's care of his reputation for one and the other is just in the proportion that being robbed bears to being murdered.

I forbear saying any thing in resentment against the Author himself of this paper, because I think he has heretofore pointed at me in a kind way; but this instance gives a strong suspicion, that the present licence he takes is supported in some extraordinary manner; and I humbly conceive, that for the honour of so-

ciety, you will put us in some way to obviate this first instance of outrage in this kind, by making the Printer produce the Author, and the Author his Correspondent, or answer it himself. I presume, Sir, this is more particularly your charge, because indeed the offence is more immediately against you, than any other person. The paper takes upon it to give an account of what passes in our House, which is the highest offence without your authority, and consequently a trespass against your authority.

There are those every day in your eye, who have no further views than doing their duty in the place where they stand before you. They know it their duty without vanity, discontent or pceivishness, in all that is for the common good, to support those who have the honour to serve their country in great stations; but as they are always inclined to act in concert with them, they are always free to act in opposition to them. But, honoured Sir, I beg of you to consider whether this equal disposition is possible to be maintained, if men, who have no hopes of self-interest in their actions, must meet with such cruel and false representations from writers, who attempt to recommend themselves to persons in authority, by vilifying gentlemen who think it a misfortune ever to differ from those very men in authority, whoever they are, or shall be.

Sir,

Sir, your great good-breeding and civility in your private character; your justice and equanimity in your public station, will suggest much more to you than I can offer in resentment of this outrage. It would be an happy day for your country if there were more men like you in great employments, who can possess what they have with the same air that they had when they were aiming at it, who can be composed enough to think of every part of the duty of their stations in preference to the article of its income, and acquit themselves to all the world before they think there is any thing due to themselves. This Sir, I know by long experience, to be your temper and mode of action; and this will transmit you to posterity with honour and reputation, with much greater advantage than you could reap from the distinction of your birth, and the superiority of your understanding without this moderation. You possess the greatest station that your Country could bestow upon you; and when that ceases I am so good a patriot as to wish you the greatest that can be bestowed by your Prince.

But though I am interrupted with the strong inclination I have to do justice to you, you must not think I have done by having expressed civilities towards the gentleman I was writing to; as if I was at the end of my letter; for I am

called a *Doughty* KNIGHT, and must take notice, according to the known obligations of that order, that distressed Ladies are as little spared as unhappy men by this lawless writer; the errors in the youth of some, and the virtue and complacency of others, are equally the subject of his insipid scurrility. I have only just mentioned this circumstance to move your indignation; but must lay before you a higher offence, in a graver tone, when I show you, that the paper has assumed a liberty of determining this question on the side of the *Pacta Conventa*, as he calls us according to his *gibberish*, notwithstanding that the present practice of those whom he commends is against that notion. Speaking of the sorrow of Dorowatski, he presumes to say as follows: "The king, who is the best-natured prince in the universe, was touched with so moving a sight, very kindly bid her rise, and said, "He was concerned for her just affliction;" but afterwards let her understand, that the *Pacta Conventa*, by which his Majesty was called to the succession, was an invincible Bar to his natural clemency; and that the Diet having made this PROSECUTION their own, his Majesty did not think it proper for him to interpose in so nice an affair; which he could not do neither, without shaking the very Foundation of his Title to the Crown.

There

There must be a way found, if we would preserve any thing that is valuable, to put an end to this mixtute of arrogance, indiscretion, and ignorance. There is not much more in the letter, except personal and domestick reflections on me, which I have not observed to you, without it were worth while to take notice, that he says I exhausted upon the occasion the common topicks of clemency and mercy; which last assertion I deny with all my might; for I never talked of mercy and clemency, but for the sake of my King and country, in whose behalf I dare to say,—That to be afraid to forgive, is as low as to be afraid to punish; and that all noble geniuses in the art of government have less owed their safety to punishment and terror, than grace and magnanimity. I will trouble you no further; I am satisfied as to myself with this remonstrance, and doubt not but every gentleman of those who inclined one way, had as good arguments against the imputation of an unmanly softness, as those disposed another had against that of an inhuman cruelty. I have no authority to adventure the injury I may do them in the repetition of what they offered, but submit what concerns them, as well as the honour of our whole proceedings, to your much wiser consideration, I am, Sir,
Your sincere admirer, and devoted humble servant,

R. STEELE.

Sir RICHARD STEELE'S SPEECH
on the *Septennial* BILL, April 24, 1716.

‘ S I R,

‘ A F T E R the very material quotation, which
‘ that gentleman * in the gallery has produced,
‘ it is evident that new chosen *Annual* PARLIA-
‘ MENTS were never the custom or right of this
‘ Kingdom. It remains therefore only to con-
‘ sider (that now there is a law, which makes
‘ Parliaments meet, as of course, at such a stated
‘ Time) whether the period of Three Years
‘ answers the purposes intended by it? The
‘ Preamble to the *Triennial* Act expresses, that
‘ it was introduced into the Constitution for the
‘ better Union and Agreement of the King and
‘ his People; but it has had a quite contrary
‘ effect; and experience has verified, what a
‘ wise man said of it, when it was enacted, that
‘ it had made a *Triennial* King, a *Triennial* Mi-
‘ nistry, a *Triennial* Alliance. We feel this in
‘ all occurrences of State; and they who look
‘ upon us from abroad behold the struggle in
‘ which we are necessarily engaged from time
‘ to time under this law. Ever since it has been
‘ enacted, the nation has been in a series of con-
‘ tention. The *first* Year of a *Triennial* Parlia-
‘ ment has been spent in vindictive decisions and

* Mr. Craggs, Junior.

‘ animosities

' animosities about the late elections. The *second*
 ' Session has entered into business, but rather
 ' with a spirit of contradiction to what the pre-
 ' vailing set of men in former Parliaments had
 ' brought to pass, than of a disinterested zeal for
 ' the common good. The *third* Session lan-
 ' guished in the pursuit of what little was in-
 ' tended to be done in the *second*; and the ap-
 ' proach of an ensuing *Election* terrified the
 ' members into a servile management, according
 ' as their respective principals were disposed to-
 ' wards the question before them in the House.
 ' Thus the State of England has been like that
 ' of a Vessel in distress at sea: the Pilot and
 ' Mariners have been wholly employed in keep-
 ' ing the Ship from sinking; the art of navi-
 ' gation was useless; and they never pretended
 ' to make sail. It is objected, that the al-
 ' teration proposed is a breach of trust. The
 ' trust, SIR, reposed in us is that of the public
 ' Good; the King, Lords, and Commons, are
 ' the parties who exercise this trust; by the
 ' measure of the common Good, they discharge
 ' themselves as well in the altering and repeal-
 ' ing, as in the making or confirming of Laws.
 ' The period of time, in this case, is a subordi-
 ' nate consideration; and those gentlemen who
 ' are against the alteration, speak in too pom-
 ' pous a style, when they tell us, we are break-
 ' ing into the Constitution. It has been further
 ' objected,

' objected, that all this is only giving great,
 ' power to the Ministers, who may make an
 ' arbitrary use of it. The Ministers are indeed
 ' like other men, from the infirmity of human
 ' nature, liable to be made worse by power and
 ' authority; but this Act gives no addition to
 ' that authority itself, though it may, possibly;
 ' prolong the exercise of it in them. They are
 ' nevertheless responsible for their actions to a
 ' Parliament; and the mode of enjoying their
 ' offices is exactly the same. Now when the
 ' thing is thus, and that the period of *three years*
 ' is found, from infallible experience itself, a
 ' period that can afford us no good, where shall
 ' we rest? The Ills that are to be done against
 ' single persons or communities are done by sur-
 ' prize, and on a sudden; but good things are
 ' slow in their progress, and must wait occasion:
 ' Destruction is done by a blow; but Reforma-
 ' tion is brought about by leisurely advances.
 ' All the mischiefs which can be wrought under
 ' the *Septennial* Act, can be perpetrated under
 ' the *Triennial*; but all the good which may be
 ' compassed under the *Septennial*, cannot be
 ' hoped for under the *Triennial*. We may fear
 ' that the Ministers may do us harm; but that is
 ' no reason why we should continue them under
 ' a disability of doing us good. For these con-
 ' siderations, I am unreservedly for the Bill.'

CHARACTER OF SIR RICHARD STEELE,

From "Memoirs towards a History of Men eminent
 " in the Republic of Letters, as well foreign as
 " domestic, 1731."

FROM the casuistry of Dr. BURNET, I shall
 now proceed to that of Sir RICHARD STEELE,
 who in 1715, the year of the Preston rebellion,
 gives us his honest reasons for concerning him-
 self so warmly both in theological and political
 enquiries. 'I must,' says he, 'say something
 ' by way of apology to those who may be sur-
 ' prized at my being so deep in points which
 ' I never before pretended to meddle with.' And,
 adds he, 'I acknowledge it has been sometimes
 ' with me, as it is with too many others, that a
 ' sort of an implicit Religion seemed the most
 ' easy, and most comfortable; and that a blind
 ' veneration for I know not what, and I knew
 ' not whom, stood for every thing valuable and
 ' important. I confess, I was not enough
 ' aware that this implicitness of conduct is the
 ' great engine of Popery framed for the de-
 ' struction of good nature, as well as good sense.
 ' But my benevolence to my fellow-creatures, I
 ' can truly say, is, and has been always warm and
 ' inflexible. And this it is that hath, at length,
 ' alarmed and roused my understanding, which
 ' one

‘ one or two accidental shocks have settled into
 ‘ the order wherein I now feel it.

‘ I remember, that some ago I said, in print,
 ‘ That all exorbitant power in Clergymen was
 ‘ Popery. What would be more general, or
 ‘ more inoffensive, than to speak this, without
 ‘ determining at all, what is that exorbitant
 ‘ power? And yet it is incredible, what an out-
 ‘ cry there was made about this, as if it was the
 ‘ very height of all madness and absurdity to say
 ‘ so. I know there are many of that reverend
 ‘ body who are disinterested enough themselves
 ‘ to maintain such a sentiment; but I soon found,
 ‘ from the resentment of others, that no power,
 ‘ let it be what it will, in their hands, can be
 ‘ esteemed by them to be exorbitant; or else,
 ‘ that that part of Popery was not a thing they
 ‘ mightily abhorred. Upon this, I proceeded to
 ‘ think a little farther of the consequence and
 ‘ renderness of such principles.

‘ But the great shock of all that I ever received
 ‘ was from the proceedings about the late Schism-
 ‘ act, which opened the scene thoroughly. And
 ‘ this, I confess, was so great, as to move in me
 ‘ an indignation not to be contained; to see the
 ‘ law of nature, and the common rights of man-
 ‘ kind, going to be sacrificed to fury and bigotry.
 ‘ I knew, indeed, very well, that the Church was
 ‘ only a word, made use of by those then at the

‘ helm,

helm, who valued all Churches and all Religions
 equally, and that no farther than for the for-
 warding their own ruinous projects. But I saw
 by how great a party the design was warmly
 espoused; that their very hearts were in it; and
 crowds of innocent people ensnared by them
 into the same violence. This put me upon
 more enquiries; and led me to some thoughts,
 of which I then gave the world a short account.
 It is upon that bottom I have goverened myself
 ever since; till I am now brought, by the na-
 tural course of such thoughts, to examine into
 the conduct of Christians, and particularly of
 Protestants of all sorts. One thing drew on
 another; and, as little conversant as I have
 heretofore been in such matters, I quickly found
 that Christianity was neither unintelligible, nor
 ill-natured; that the Gospel does not invade
 the rights of mankind; nor invest any men
 with authority destructive to society; and (what
 was the most melancholy part of the whole)
 that Protestants must be reduced to the ab-
 surdity of renouncing Protestant as well as
 Christian Principles, before they can pretend to
 make their practices and their professions con-
 sistent. This I resolved to represent; and have
 done it, without regard to any one sort of
 them more than another.

I am more and more persuaded, every day,
 that

‘ that it is fitting to understand Religion, as well
 ‘ as to praise it ; and that it is the Golden Rule
 ‘ of Proportion, to give the highest respect to
 ‘ those only who deserve it.

‘ If I have used a severity in some of the fore-
 ‘ going pages, it flowed from the resentment I
 ‘ have at the usage King GEORGE hath
 ‘ met with from too many, of a body of men,
 ‘ who owe all their security to his accession. This
 ‘ part of their conduct admits of no apology. I
 ‘ have given them sufficient proof of my de-
 ‘ votion to their interest, when they do not divide
 ‘ it from that of their country. But, I thank
 ‘ God, my love to the publick is above it : and I
 ‘ feel it true within, what the Patriot and Orator
 ‘ of Rome said, “ Omnes omnium charitates pa-
 ‘ tria una complexa est.” And therefore, since
 ‘ many of them are not contented that the Glory
 ‘ of their past conduct should be forgot, or bu-
 ‘ ried in silence ; but have thought fit, by their
 ‘ renewed assaults, to revive the remembrance
 ‘ of their former behaviour, when they engaged
 ‘ themselves in the cause of a worthless incendi-
 ‘ ary, and taught the people, by the cry of the
 ‘ Church (which hath deserved better usage at
 ‘ their hands), to rebel for passive obedience *,
 ‘ and to insult the supreme authority of the
 ‘ whole legislature, out of loyalty : Since, I say,

* Dr. Sacheverell,

‘ they

' they have begun the war anew, and beat a
 ' fresh alarm from their high places, and, un-
 ' provoked and unmolested, have given the best
 ' of Kings a reception, unworthy (I do not say
 ' of Christians, but) of men ; it lies upon them
 ' alone to answer for the consequences; and upon
 ' all others to guard their country, their laws,
 ' and their Prince, from such attempts ; and to
 ' shew by their courage and constancy, that, in
 ' spite of all the opportunities which such men
 ' employ to the misleading of the people, We
 ' will not sacrifice, either our religion, or our
 ' establishment, or even the very people whom
 ' they mislead, out of any panick dread of their
 ' invectives, or instigations.

' Indeed, whatever others do, I think it time to
 ' let them see, that there are those who are
 ' even passionately disposed to love, and almost
 ' adore them, who will not fear them. Whilst
 ' they shew the world that they hate the King,
 ' it is my humble opinion, that they who love
 ' him do no better than make a sacrifice of him,
 ' whenever they shew themselves afraid of such
 ' men. As I am always romantic enough to speak
 ' what I think ; so I am weak enough to think
 ' it has its use.

' All the world knows, with what a tender-
 ' ness of affection, and what a sincerity of pas-
 ' sion, I have espoused the cause of the Clergy
 ' and

' and Universities; that they have been observed
 ' to be the delight of my tongue, and the darling
 ' subject of my conversation; and that I have;
 ' with an impetuoufness of warmth, in season and
 ' out of season, run into their defence, and their
 ' panegyric. But what can I say? The cause;
 ' the topic, I delighted in, is torn from me; and
 ' left without any support, but that of Hope, that
 ' the Better Part (who have stood faithful, un-
 ' corrupted, and unwearied, amidst the throng
 ' of great Examples, and against the torrent of
 ' violence and reproach), may be looked upon;
 ' at present, as some atonement for the contrary;
 ' and their virtue (after the season of mad Despair
 ' is over), spread its influence; and create an
 ' imitation, universal enough to raise again the
 ' Sacred Character, and make it once more shine
 ' in all that brightness and vigour of glory, in
 ' which every good man wishes to see it.

' And, in the mean while, certainly it remains
 ' upon the conscience, and honour, of every True
 ' Briton, to employ all the opportunities which
 ' can occur to him, from his talents, his station,
 ' and his fortune, in doing honour and service
 ' to such excellent men in Holy Orders as have;
 ' in the whole bent of their words and actions,
 ' and upon all just occasions, acknowledged and
 ' asserted the constitution and basis of our go-
 ' vernment. Happy they, who have the power;
 ' and the will, to do it.

' Cer-

‘ Certainly, to such Clergymen esteem and regard are due, in proportion to the excellence of their virtue, and to that course of calumny and reproach which they have suffered, both from their own order, and from others, for their candour and honesty ; in disdaining to exalt themselves, at the expence of the prosperity of their brethren ; and in labouring to shew themselves the most generous Patriots, in respect of this world, as well as the most faithful Stewards, with respect to the next.

‘ What I have to add, is, that, if there were occasion, I could call God to witness, that the whole of what I have said, hath proceeded, not from any regard to private interest, or the narrow spirit of a party (which any one may see, at first view, who knows the world), but from a principle of benevolence, and a dilated zeal to serve the best of Princes, and the best of Constitutions ; and particularly to rescue the Christian and Protestant name, and the Church of England, from all the scandals of Antichristianism, and Popery.’

I shall now close this short Memoir with a recapitulation of the favours he received from his late Majesty, who, soon after his accession to the throne, put him in the commission of the peace for the county of Middlesex, and made him surveyor of the stables at his palace of Hampton-court, and governor of the Royal
company

company of Comedians; and, in April 1715, the King was pleased to honour him with Knighthood, upon the presenting of an address to his Majesty by the Lieutenancy, of which he was the penman.

In the first Parliament of King GEORGE I. he was chose a member for Boroughbrigg in Yorkshire, and after the suppressing of the rebellion in the North was appointed one of the Commissioners of the forfeited estates in Scotland, where he received distinguishing marks of respect from several of the nobility and gentry of that part of Great Britain. In this Parliament Sir RICHARD voted for the repeal of the Triennial Act, and of the occasional Conformity and Schism Acts; but opposed the Peerage Bill, not only within doors, but without, by the Share he had in those excellent papers called the PLEBEIAN. Not long after this, he wrote in opposition to the South-Sea Schemers, which somehow or other gave offence; the consequence of which was very well known. He likewise wrote some of the PASQUINS, and two papers called the WHIG.

Towards the latter end of his life he grew paralytic, and being perfectly disabled for all sorts of business, study, and conversation, having in a great measure lost his speech, as well as the use of his limbs, he retired to Caermarthen in Wales, where he lingered some years in that *unhappy* condition.

A N

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AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
FISH POOL:

CONSISTING OF

A DESCRIPTION of the VESSEL so called, lately invented and built for the Importation of Fish alive, and in good health, from parts however distant.

A PROOF of the Imperfection of the *Well-Boat* hitherto used in the FISHING TRADE.

The true REASONS why Ships become stiff or crank in sailing; with other Improvements, very useful to all Persons concerned in Trade and Navigation.

Likewise, a DESCRIPTION of the Carriage intended for the Conveyance of Fish by land, in the same good Condition as in the *Fish-Pool* by Sea.

By Sir RICHARD STEELE, and
Mr. JOSEPH GILLMORE, Mathematician.

First printed in the Year 1718.

To the Right Honourable Sir JOHN WARD,
Knight, LORD MAYOR of LONDON.

MY LORD,

[1718.]

AS I think it manifest that the design, explained in the following account *, will introduce a new and profitable course of Trade; I presume to address this narration to the greatest Magistrate of the greatest commercial City.

Your personal eminent qualities, as a good citizen and man of business, which I have frequently heard you exert, where you, with great ability, represent the same city in another ho-

* This was one of Sir RICHARD STEELE's projects, alluded to in many of the letters preserved in his "Epistolary Correspondence," for which he obtained a patent, whence he derived ultimately no advantage. The patent was dated June 10, 1718. It appears from this publication, and from N^o XXVIII. the last number of his "Theatre," that STEELE expected to have made an ample fortune by this machine: but, on trial, it did not answer his expectations; for, though by this ingenious contrivance the fish were supplied with a continual stream of water in crossing the sea, yet, not brooking the confinement, they battered themselves against the sides of the vessel, and were so much injured in their passage, that, when brought to market, they did not fetch a proper price. "BENSON," he observes in his "Epistolary Correspondence." Letter CCLXXIX, "is so busy with great men, that GILLMORE's affair is retarded by it." We learn however with certainty, from Letter CCLXXXIX. p. 175, that STEELE's expence was not *immense* on this occasion; and that the fate of his invention, though a great disappointment, was by no means such a loss to him, as it is represented by the writer of his life in the *Biographia Britannica*, art. STEELE, p. 3833, *Note*.

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nourable character *, entitle you also to the veneration and esteem which determine me in my present application.

The Arts and Sciences (in which I pretend to no accurate skill), should always be employed in enquiries that may tend to the general advantage; and they must lose the name of liberal, when the professors of them seclude themselves from society, or live in it without applying their abilities to the service of it. For it is by the joint force of men of different talents that useful purposes are best accomplished; and a certain felicity of invention in one, joined to the experience and practical skill of another, may bring works to perfection which would be so far from growth, that they would not so much as have had birth, but from the good intelligence between persons of unlike abilities, whose goodwill towards each other united their endeavours.

I dare promise your Lordship, that the correspondence between the undertakers of this design will produce to the world many other operations, which will create more wonder that they were not performed before, than that they are now brought into use. For it is certain,

* He represented the city of London in the parliaments elected in 1708 and 1714, and the borough of Dunwich in 1722. He was elected Alderman of Candlewick Ward in 1709; served the office of Sheriff in 1706; and that of Lord Mayor in 1713-19. He was also one of the Directors of the Bank; and died March 12, 1725-6.

that

that great and worthy works * are every day lost, by the distance which is kept between men, from the very reason which should make them seek each other in their different ways of life and education.

Among the employments of human life, that of the Merchant (whose good is the good of all men) should by all be held in the first esteem: it is he who enlarges the interests of his country; it is he, who, by his credit, makes his fellow-citizen every where at home, and extends the offices, advantages, and civilities of acquaintance and neighbourhood, to all parts of the habitable world.

The following invention is proposed to be carried on with a superior regard to the laws and rights of commerce, which oblige every man to think of himself but in the second place, or to make his first intentions at least strictly agreeable to the good of his country, and that of all his fellow-citizens; and therefore, the account of it may be a present not unworthy a gentleman of your free and disinterested character; and I flatter myself it will have the in-

* If it were not that STEELE had been, long before this time, laughed at as a Chemist who was searching in vain for the philosopher's stone, one might have supposed, from this passage, that "the laboratory at * Poplar, now converted into a garden-house," was the scene of the secret operations whence the Fifth Pool and other wonderful discoveries were to originate. See Supplement to Swift, cr. 8vo. vol. I. p. 111.

fluence of your Lordship in the prosecution of it. I need not say how great that influence must needs be, where you act for them in the greatest capacities your fellow-citizens have to bestow.

I congratulate both them and you, that a person of such known equanimity is vested with the double capacity of asserting and protecting their privileges; whose candour and benignity naturally tend to abate animosity, encourage industry, promote peace, prevent disorder, secure wealth, and relieve poverty: in all which noble ends and cares I wish you a prosperous and memorable Mayoralty; and again humbly desiring, that, if the design shall in the least degree appear serviceable in any of these generous respects, it may have your protection.

I remain, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient, and most humble servant,

RICHARD STEELE.

THE

T H E
F I S H - P O O L, &c.

TH E R E has much calumny been uttered, and many impertinent observations made upon one of the undertakers of this work which I am now going to describe ; but as he formerly declared in print, that while he was pursuing what he believed might conduce to the common good, he gave the syllables RICHARD STEELE to the publick, to be used and treated as they should think fit, he must go on in the same indifference, and allow the Town their usual liberty with his name, which I find they think they have much more room to sport with than formerly, as it is lengthened with the monosyllable S I R.

But though I am not solicitous for what they say of S I R RICHARD STEELE, merely as it regards the matter of his fame or reputation, which is too large to be unexceptionably good or bad, but must necessarily share the fate which attends men of undertaking complexions, who are the entertainment and discourse of idle

people, that insensibly, for want of other employment, hate the persons of those they never saw, and oppose designs into which they never examine. I say, let one of the undertakers be considerable or inconsiderable, according to the temper of the company wherein he is mentioned, I cannot let a great and good work, which may be a benefit to all the world, be lost and run down, because perhaps his part in it may have been only a mere suggestion, or a lucky start, that owes its progress to the being communicated to a more capable man, that ripened it into practice, and qualified it for the service of society.

If this were the case, as I know it is, and that with great inconvenience to himself; any man, from a restless good spirit, has attempted (not to say accomplished) a most extraordinary work, for the advantage of the whole species, especially the poorer sort, all men are obliged, in justice and gratitude, at least to give the matter a fair hearing.

The reader is desired, on this foundation only, as it regards himself and all other men, as well as the undertakers, to approve and condemn the design of the FISH-POL, and to hear the relation of the several steps and degrees by which it was brought to its present perfection.

It

It is now about five years since Sir RICHARD STEELE, upon seeing certain experiments of an air-pump, consulted a gentleman of known experience and ability, concerning a design to form a vessel which should preserve dead fish from corruption a longer time than usual; but the gentleman so consulted convinced him of the impossibility of performing that matter in the manner he supposed it practicable, and discouraged him from farther enquiry that way.

But the matter did not end there; that disappointment only gave his thoughts another cast; and much reflection on that subject ended in an imagination, that though dead fish could not be preserved from putrefaction by what he had suggested, live fish might, by new methods, be conveyed better than they had been by the means already practised, which would end in the same advantage.

About this time Mr. STEELE had the good fortune to become acquainted with Mr. GILLMORE, and, falling by degrees into great familiarity, frequently hinted to him, that he could not but think it practicable, that a vessel might be contrived so as to bring fish alive much better than at present; and took frequent occasions to solicit him, whom he knew very well skilled in navigation and other parts of the mathematicks, to turn his thoughts on that subject. Mr. GILL-

MORE

MORE could not be brought to apply himself to this proposal, 'till about a twelvemonth ago he was urged, by a letter from Sir RICHARD STEELE, to comply with his former request, now he (Mr. GILLMORE) was at leisure, at his place of abode at Nettleton in Wiltshire.

The thing that dwelt upon the imagination of the inventor was, that, since it was notorious that ships, without sinking, frequently admitted many tuns of water, besides their proper lading, a vessel, by a good artist, who knew the reason, nature, philosophy, principles, and laws of mechanism, might be contrived to carry no lading but water and fish, whereby fish might live commodiously, and such water be admitted, and made to pass through at will, and nevertheless the ship to sail with safety.

Mr. GILLMORE began now to listen, and returned for answer, he would immediately take the matter into consideration, and in a few days after sent his friend the projection from which the FISH-POOL was modelled, and built 16 inches by the keel; which 16 inches were divided into 40 equal parts, and made into a scale called feet, and by it projected the FISH-POOL, 40 foot by the keel, 16 foot broad in the mid-ships, and 6 foot deep between the keelson and deck on which she swims; with Grates 'fore and aft', air-pipes, well into the hold through both
decks,

decks, masts, yards, rigging, and hatch-way to go down between decks, and other conveniences, all in proportion.

From this model, by a lesser scale, was made an hull of very small dimensions, as 10 inches by the keel, 5 inches broad in the midship, 2 inches and a quarter deep in the hold, with a proportionable well, and a little glass deck, on which it was to swim.

We carried our vessel over land to a place near the village of Hackney, called Temple-Mills, which is the spot that divides Middlesex from Essex, near an island which we named, from its bigness, Tresacre Island.

After we had put into our vessel a Flounder and six Gudgeons (on which latter word we allow all small Wits to make merry), we placed her in the current of the second trough of a log-wood mill, and moored her very safely, where, from hour to hour we visited her, and through her glass deck saw her passengers very merry, which made us not a whit less contented. After we had remained in the house adjacent as long as we thought convenient, we left a young man to attend the vessel, and keep a journal of what passed, as to the consumption of the food of the fish, and the like.

The ignorant are naturally malicious to any thing they see out of the common road, and we

found the weight of it in our first essay ; for a servant of the mill, though desired and bribed to give warning, when he should have occasion to raise the flood-gate, imagining he was able to do mischief, opened it upon our vessel, which tore it from her moorings ; but she, though her proper lading is but about one pound, rid the storm, and our trusty pilate jumped into the river and took her up, where she was driven on the north of the island of Tresacre, without having received the least damage in her hull or cargo, from a greater storm and stress of weather than any ship can possibly meet with at sea.

Though this appeared very satisfactory, Mr. GILLMORE complied with his partner, to give him more than ocular demonstration, by going through the proper experiments, which should make him as clearly understand the causes, as he saw the effects ; without which, it was impossible to enjoy quiet under so great an expence ; as the building a vessel for use must necessarily require.

For this end we resolved to go from one circumstance to another, and consider the nature of the elements and parts of matter with which we were to deal, and from thence form conclusions that might make us easy and confident in our future proceedings.

The first experiment was thus ; we exhausted the air out of a cylinder * 12 inches diameter, and 2 foot deep, as P, whose superficies on the top is 113.1428, by an air-pump, as B, being 1 inch diameter, whose superficies on the top is .78571, and found the weight C to be 12 pounds 9 ounces ; then, if the superficies on the top of the air-pump be .78571, and the weight of the atmosphere pressing on the air-pump 12.57 pounds, the weight of air on the cylinder B, at a foot diameter, will be 1810.2848 pounds : So, by consequence, on every inch square is 16 pounds in the summer ; and every foot square, or 144 inches, the weight pressing on it is 2304 pounds, or 20 hundred 2 quarters and 8 pounds Averdupois. From which experiment, and the reflection that the parts of water are globular, we concluded, that the air being pressed into the water by the weight of the atmosphere, is thereby conveyed to all living creatures under water ; and that if this air is not put in motion, it must soon corrupt ; for a breeze is no more than a body of air broken, or forced by something more solid than itself. Note also, that water is impelled by the same means ; for, force air or water horizontally, like springs, they will yield and fly before you while nothing more weighty drives back ; but force them downward,

* See the annexed Plate, fig. 1.

and

and the earth, by being more weighty, will resist it, and make it spread horizontally.

By the rule of this philosophy, before we proceeded farther, we took into consideration the only engine hitherto employed for carrying fish alive, to wit,

The WELL-BOAT; see Plate I.

Since all that has been hitherto attempted of this kind has been by a WELL-BOAT; and that it is known, that from the moment fish are put into that vehicle, they sicken, foam, and froth at the mouth, fall into convulsions, and in a small time die; it behoved us to examine the reason of this, and found that it cannot happen otherwise, as appears from Fig. 1, which shews that they cannot receive in that machine what are absolutely necessary to their Being, *viz.* fresh air and fresh water; because the pillar of air A, presses down upon the WELL-BOAT B, which WELL-BOAT is supported by pillar of water C, and surrounded by the like Trapezium of water *d e f g b i*, by which means, and the Bulk-heads O Q, all fresh air and water are excluded.

This is farther proved by Fig. 2. L is a cylinder well closed and without the least hole or crack, in the middle of which a candle was placed, and in a few minutes went out; but when a lighted candle was again fixed as before,
and

and in a small space of time was in the same manner going out, a little vent or hole was made in the side, on which it revived; and will still do so more, in proportion to the greatness of the hole; by which we concluded, that the cylinder being full of air, and pressed by the pillar above it, the flame of the candle could not subsist; but when the pillar of air was broken in the cylinder, by means of the vent hole, we apprehended the matter of the candle to be put (or rather continued) in motion, and therefore it revived. From either of which circumstances the confinement of only a certain quantity of water in a WELL-BOAT, or air in any such vessel, equally appears.

Now, that the fish in this new-invented vessel are constantly supplied with fresh air and fresh water will appear from Fig. 3.

It is to be understood that this vessel is to have no other lading than water and fish; *i. e.* this vessel is to carry as much weight of water and fish, as another would of dry goods, to make her sink low enough down into the water, so as to be fit for sailing; and that the fish and water are to fill all the hold of the vessel.

A B is the lower deck, on which she swims; she is supported by the pillar of water A B F G, and encompassed all round by the Trapezium of water R R G F pressing against it.

Hitherto

Hitherto the new vessels but in the condition of all other boats, and even of the WELL-BOAT itself.

But whereas the imperfection of the WELL-BOAT consists, in that the water and air are constantly the same, and constrained to be such by a perpendicular weight of both, and an horizontal pressure on all sides; from which the fish are relieved only by the motion of their own struggling, and the tacking of the vessel, without which they could not live 24 hours after they are in the boat:

In this invention the air and water flow together, come into the ship horizontally, and pass through it in a constant succession, yielding fresh air and fresh water, to the relief, sustenance, and delight of the fish; which great advantage is effected by large grates at the head and stern, or each end of the vessel, at P and M, and by the vents which open into 4 large pipes before, and 2 abaft, and in the midships, the well is covered with gratings, as O. There are also other conveniences, to wit, the main-mast, and sluice-pipe, all which yield a free discharge, and form an uninterrupted passage for the air.

After the projectors were satisfied of the use and benefit of the air and water, in which they were to work, as far as it concerned their design, the next thing was to consider how their intended

tended vessel would receive advantage from them in its sailing and working; which brought on the third experiment, that is demonstrated by Fig. A. which shews the form of a parallelepipedon, 12 foot long, 9 inches broad, and 6 inches deep, as *a b c d*. This trough was filled with fine clear water, which done, there was put into it a small model of the hull of our sloop, 12 inches long, 4 broad, and 3 deep, with grates 'fore and aft', and a glass deck, to render all that passed through her visible, as B. Into the well P, we put a deep-red liquor, and found that by the motion of the vessel through the water, the distance 20 times her length, she would discharge all her said red water. See plate I. fig. A.

Now, the fish-vessel designed being 40 foot by the keel, if you divide 5280, the feet in a mile, by 800 foot, 20 times her length, the quotient sheweth she discharges herself of all her old water six times and six tenths in a mile, or 33 times every 5 miles.

From which it appears by demonstration, that the whole mass of the parts of water are moved, more or less, by the motion of any of them, in proportion to the magnitude and velocity of the bodies which press upon them, and the succession of fresh air and water in the vessel to be accordingly: so that the whole body

P

of

of water contained in such a vessel will be changed, as aforesaid, in 20 times its length; and the more swift the motion of the vessel is, the more rapid the current will be through her, as in Fig. 4. where, A B C D represent the iron gratings 'fore and aft', through which the water passeth, forming the currents A C and B D; whose motion is nearly equal, though in a contrary direction to that of the ship.

In the hold are put stops, to throw some part of the water into eddies, as L L L; that the fish may not be hurt by its velocity, but swim and play as easy as in the free and open sea.

The last experiment was by the aforesaid vessel with the glass deck, whose hold had gratings 'fore and aft', and was full of holes on the sides; the length of it was 12 inches, and breadth 4, which makes 16 inches for the height of the main-mast; but we made it 20 inches long, and when it floated on the water, we found it truly boyant, and neither too crank nor too stiff.

Then we stopped up the said gratings and holes in her sides, and sunk her till she drew as much water as before; which we effected by loading her with dry gravel, and found her then somewhat more stiff; because, by so much as the gravel is heavier than water of the same magnitude, it must lie farther from the center
of

of motion, and make her too stiff. This proves water to be the truest lading, and was still a confirmation of this new invention.

Thus far we have proved the capacity, the aptness, the power, and commodiousness of our vessel; after all which, we may still fail, if we do not understand the nature of lading, which experience and wisdom has brought to light and practice among men.

To avoid any error from inadvertency this way, it was well debated and considered, that there is a great difference between a shipwright's and merchant's way of calculating the tunnage of a ship; and finding this difficulty, made us think it proper to examine, from the nature of the thing itself, how many tuns Averdupois weight a ship will carry.

The shipwright's way is to multiply the length of the keel by the middle breadth, and that product by half the breadth, and then they divide the last product by 94, and the quotient is the tunnage.

The FISH-POOL sloop is 40 foot by the keel, and 17 foot broad in the midships, which, by their customary rule, measures 61.5 tuns.

To find how many tuns weight a Ship will carry.

The FISH-POOL sloop being inched according to common gauging, the mean length in the

hold is 42 feet, mean breadth is 13.687 feet, and depth 6 feet, which multiplied together is 3449.124 cubic feet of water; each foot of salt sea water, by the nicest experiments, weighing 64.25 pounds *, and a cubick foot of clear fresh water weighs but 62.75 pounds, which is the very reason why a ship is more boyant in salt water than in fresh. Now if the cubick feet of salt water in the hold be multiplied by 64.25 pounds (the true weight of a cubick foot of sea water), it will be 221606 pounds Averdupois weight, or 98 tuns, 18 hundred 2 quarters, and 14 pounds; and so much weight of any sort of dry goods must be in the hold of a ship of her burthen, to make her neither too crank nor too stiff; and this weight is no more than what is commonly allowed by merchants themselves, of box, bale, or case goods, by allowing 66 cubick feet to a tun in bulk. Suppose you have 6 bales of goods, 6 foot long, 2 foot broad, and 2 deep; multiply the length, breadth, and depth, one into the other, the product is 24 cubick feet for one bale; and that multiplied by 6, is 144 cubick feet in the 6 bales; the whole divided by 66, the quotient is 2.182 tuns. We will suppose this 2.182 tuns to be red wine, of which a cubick foot weighs 62.06 Pounds Averdupois, the goods before-mentioned

* See Ward's Tables.

measure 144 cubick feet, which multiplied by 62.06, the product is its true weight, *viz.* 3 tuns, 19 hundred, 3. quarters, and 4 pounds; or suppose it to be oyl olive, of which 57.06 pounds is a cubick foot, then the aforefaid 2.182 tuns, or 144 cubick feet of oyl olive, will weigh 3 tuns, 13 hundred, 1 quarter, and 12 pounds; and the quantity of the FISH-POOL's hold, as before-mentioned, is 3449 cubick feet, divided by 66 cubick feet, the quotient is 52.25 tuns of merchants tunnage; which said 3449 cubick feet, or 52.25 tuns, we will proportion to the several weights of liquids following, *viz.* that 1 cubick foot of salt water weighs 64.25 pounds, of clear fresh water 62.5 pounds, red wine 62.06 pounds, and oyl olive 57.06 pounds Averdupois weight. If so,

Then 66 cubick feet, or 1 tun of merchants allowance will weigh,

	<i>hun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
If salt water —————	37	3	12
Clear fresh water —————	36	3	9
Red wine —————	36	1	26
Oyl olive —————	33	2	14

It is plain that different solids and liquids have different weights, and, by consequence, all different cargoes must vary the same, as appears by the table following:

That a hold meafuring 3449 cubick feet

	<i>tun</i>	<i>hun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Of falt water is —————	98	18	2	14
Clear fresh water —————	96	4	2	18
Red wine —————	95	11	0	13
Oyl Olive —————	87	17	0	16

This account is purely to fatisfy thofe that are not acquainted with the nature of thefe things, that fo much goods ought to be in the hold, as is equal to fuch a weight of Water as would fill the hold, and will bring the ſhip down fo far into the water as is limited ; for the weight of goods preſſes out no more water than would fill the hold ; and if the goods are lighter or heavier than water of the ſame magnitude, the ſhip will be either too ſtiff or too crank, as will be demonſtrated in its proper place.

The next thing we confidered was, how much all the timber, that bounds the hold from the floating-deck to the keel, is lighter than water of the ſame magnitude.

The keel, floor-timbers, keelson, ſtem, ſtern-poſt, dead wood 'fore and aft', and ſtep of the maſt, were exactly meafured, and found to be 649.5 cubick feet. By the beſt experiments that have been made *, a cubick foot of ſound dry oak will weigh 58 pounds, by which mul-

* According to Ward's book.

multiply the said 649.5 feet, the product is 37671 pounds Averdupois weight,

	<i>tun</i>	<i>hun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Or, —	16	16	1	10
Iron bolts, gratings, &c. —	01	00	0	00
Clay abaft —————	02	00	0	00

Total 19 16 1 10

649.5 Cubick feet of sea water of the same magnitude of the timber, at 64.25 pounds each foot —————	<i>tun</i>	<i>hun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
	18	12	2	10

Two tuns of clay abaft, being twice as heavy as water of the same magnitude, and therefore takes up but half the room of water, the $\frac{1}{2}$ is	<i>tun</i>	<i>hun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
	01	00	0	00

Total 19 12 2 10

From 19 16 1 10

Take 19 12 2 10

Remains 00 03 3 00

Which is over and above the weight of water.

The specifick gravity of bodies of the same magnitude will press them downward, if heavier than liquids; and the liquids will press them upwards, if lighter.

	<i>tun</i>	<i>bun.</i>	<i>qu.</i>	<i>p.</i>
Add the water in the hold	98	18	2	14
To the weight over and	} 00	03	3	00
above the weight of water				

The Total 99 02 1 04

Is the whole weight under the floating-deck, or the true weight a ship for this purpose ought to have; and, to be sure, a great deal of care must be taken, that there is but a small matter of weight added more to the timber, iron, &c., than the weight of water of the same magnitude of the timber.

The next thing we considered, was the weight of every thing above the floating-deck, the weight the sloop will carry between decks, and by consequence how many inches the floating-deck will sink under the superficies of the water on the outside of the sloop, and from thence how much water she will bear between-decks before she will sink.

First, the timber, necessaries, &c. as the floating-deck, beams, knees, timbers in the sides, timbers in the upper-deck, windless, and cheeks, paulbits, catheads, capston, stem, masts, yards, rigging,

rigging, necessaries, &c. were all exactly measured and weighed.

All the timbers measured } *tun bun. qu. p.*
 982 cubick feet, at 58 pounds } 25 00 2 04
 per foot, is _____

Cordage, anchors, iron }
 bolts, meat, drink, coal, fix } 06 00 0 00
 men, &c. weight _____

Weight in all 31 00 2 04

2dly, *What weight she will carry between decks, and how many inches the floating deck will sink under the superficies of the water on the outside.*

Length of the deck E D 50 foot, mean breadth 16 foot, and depth 6 foot, which multiplied one by the other, is 4800 cubick feet, and multiplied by 64.25 pounds, the weight of a cubick foot of water, the product is 308400 pounds Averdupois, or 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds, between-decks ENPD.

3dly, *To find how many inches the floating-deck E D will sink under the superficies of the water on the outside.*

Having before found, that between-decks she measures 4800 cubick feet of salt water, at 6 foot

foot deep, then every inch deep must contain 66.666 cubick feet of salt water, allowing 64.25 pounds to a cubick foot, as before, the weight is 38 hundred and 27 pounds on every inch deep; now, if 38 hundred and 27 pounds sink the floating deck 1 inch, then all the timbers, cordage, anchors, &c. being 31 tuns and 60 pounds, as before-mentioned, will sink it 16.227 inches under the superficies of the water on the out-side of the middle deck; that is the floating-deck ED in *Fig. 5.* will be 16.227 inches under water, as EA or BD.

The aforesaid EA or BD is 16.227 inches; the depth of the arch of the deck thwartships is 4 inches; the $\frac{1}{2}$ is 2 inches, which 2 inches added to 16.227, makes 18.227 inches, the depth of the water in the well, as LC; then take 18.227 inches, as LC, from 6 foot as LH, the remainder is almost 54 inches, or 4 foot 6 inches, as CH equal to BP, or AN, free board.

Now (as we proved before, that the hold measured 3449 cubick feet, allowing 66 cubick feet to a tun, merchants tunnage), the FISH-POOL Sloop is not quite 53 tuns; and where is any ship of her burthen more than 4 foot 6 inches free board when loaden, besides the thickness of her upper deck plank, and 2 inches more to the scupper-holes.

4thly,

4thly, *How much water the FISH-POOL Sloop must take in between-decks, to make her sink, and consequently whether this Fish Vessel is as safe as a merchant-man, or less dangerous than a common Well-boat ?*

In order thereunto, we must find how much water she must ship between-decks to make her sink.

We have calculated before, that between-decks E N D P measures 4800 cubick feet, and allowed 64.25 pounds to a foot of salt water, the weight is 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds: we have likewise before calculated that 38 hundred, and 27 pounds weight of water will sink her but 1 inch, then, if 1 inch requires 38 hundred and 27 pounds to sink it, then 4 foot 4 inches, the remains of the 6 foot between-decks, as B P or A N, will require 99 tuns, 8 hundred, 2 quarters, and 4 pounds; so, by consequence, she must ship so much water before she can sink; and if by God's blessing we can keep all things close in a storm, she is a great deal safer than any other vessel; because, if you spring a leak in a merchant-man, she must sink, if you cannot keep her free with the pumps; but in this Fish-Vessel, the floating deck being under your feet,

feet, the leak may be seen, and stopped immediately.

Farther, we are much safer than a WELL-BOAT, because all our water is confined like water in a bottle, as *Fig. 5.* E D N P is all dry between decks; the vessel is sunk to A and B on the outside of the ship; and if so, by consequence the water in the well will rise to C. Now considering how the deck she swims on E L D is pressed down into the water as deep as E A or D B, how is it possible, under such a confinement, the water should be tossed by the sallies of the vessel (occasioned by the surges of the sea), from one side to the other, like a common WELL-BOAT?

Again, How can it be, but that there must ensue a constant succession and fresh supplies of water, since she hath large gratings before, containing 360 square inches, to let the water in; and abaft, gratings of 740 square inches, to let the water out; and the conveniencies of large blow-pipes, to vent what air shall happen to be forced in by the risings of the vessel in head seas.

But the WELL-BOAT is of a different nature, as in *Fig. 6.* which represents an English WELL-BOAT, A, the mouth of the Well, B, the whole body to contain the fish, P P two bulk-heads, or ends of the Well, running athwartships; so part
of

of the two sides, and the two bulk-heads or ends, make the Well; C D, all cavity between the bulk-heads and the two extreme ends of the boat, to make her boyant.

It is impossible such a formed vessel as this should approve itself to the examination of those in this great city, who understand the nature and reason of things, and whose business it is, on a diligent enquiry, either to correct, approve, or reject it. Which proves it was never calculated by art, but brought to what it is by the long and dear cost and experience of some poor publick-spirited fishermen.

For 1st, no manner of provision was made for the conveyance of air, without which no creature can live.

2dly, On every fall of the boat, the water in the Well must shift its place; and in violent seas it sometimes hath forced the hatches open which cover the Well, and sometimes breaks through the Bulk-heads.

Besides this, how uneasy must the fish be in such violent motions, to be battered against the sides of the Well; and if a calm happen, the water having no motion, the fish must in a little time be suffocated: and at the very best, they have no relief by fresh supplies of water, but by the vessel's tacking about; and then, perhaps, the fishes motion, and struggling for life, may
press

press out some filthy slime, through the holes in the sides of the Well, and so make their situation a little more healthful.

The next thing we are to prove is, That water is as good, or indeed better lading than any dry goods whatsoever.

Suppose (so far as the ship sinks in the water) an imaginary line to go from stem to stern; in that line lies the Center of Motion of the ship; and the Center of Gravity not being in the Center of Motion, it will descend till it comes under the Center of Motion; and the farther it is distant from the Center of Motion, the more will its weight be, and the nearer, the less, so as to render her accordingly more stiff or more crank.

The FISH-POOL Sloop will carry in her Hold 99 tuns weight, or 52 tuns of merchants allowance, reckoning 66 cubick feet to a tun, as hath been before proved.

Fig. 7. Suppose a Ship laden with 99 tun weight of Lead, and that should lie in the bottom of the hold, to the height B C, and equal to the whole weight of Water that would fill the Hold D E C.

It is plain here, that A is the center of motion, on which the whole body moves; and every man concerned

concerned in sea affairs knows by experience (and that sometimes dearly bought too), that there is a necessity of raising the weight of lead nearer the center of motion A, by dividing the weight, and laying several ranges of billet-wood between the like ranges of lead; or else the ship would lie so stiff in the sea, that she could not yield to the wind; by which opposition, all the masts would be blown down, or brought by the board, and the seas would make a high road over her decks. Which proves, that by so much as the cargo is heavier than water of the same magnitude, by so much the ship will be stiffer than she ought to be, and move the heavier upon the center of motion A towards D or E; because, the quantity of the lead B C, in the bottom of the hold is 99 Tuns, and that of sea water of the same magnitude B C, would be but a little above 11 tuns; for, a cubick foot of lead is 707 pounds and 13 ounces, and a cubic foot of salt water 64 pounds and 4 ounces.

Fig. 8. Suppose a Ship laden with 99 tuns of Sugar as deep as a b, and which loading lies nearer the Center of Motion A than the former Cargo of Lead did.

By so much as the cargo of sugar a b D is heavier than sea water of the same magnitude,
by

by so much she is too stiff; because, the magnitude of sugar a b D is 99 tuns weight, and water of the same magnitude is but 80 tuns weight; therefore the ship must be too stiff, and move the heavier upon the center of motion A towards B or C.

Fig. 9. Suppose a Ship be laden with 99 tun weight of lighter Goods, where a greater part of it must be stowed between-decks, or above the Center of Motion A, as high as L N.

Now, by so much weight as is between-decks A L N, on every fally of the ship, so much is the weight in the hold A P R lessened: for by so much as the cargo is lighter than water of the same magnitude, by so much the ship must be cranker, and be consequently more in danger to overset: for, all the light goods that will fill the hold and between-decks, will weigh but 99 tuns, which is her real cargo; and the water of the same magnitude (that is, were the hold and between-decks full of water) would weigh 198 tuns; which plainly proves she hath 99 tuns weight to assist the wind to overset her. But if the cargo be lighter than water of the same magnitude, and under the center of motion, ballast must be used to sink her down to the center of motion; but then she will be too stiff,

by so much as the balast is heavier than water of the same magnitude; as would be the case, were she loaded with Tobacco, or other such light goods.

Fig. 10. But if a ship hath 99 tuns weight of salt water in the Hold B A C D, and that water be stopped down (as is the case of our FISH-POOL), it must needs lie there more equal and uniform than any cargo of goods can possibly do; for it will lie, with regard to the motion and sallies of the ship, just as if it were congealed into a solid body of ice of the same weight and magnitude. And it is impossible that any kind of dry goods (not even corn itself, were her hold full of it, and well caulked down), can be stowed so commodiously; neither can such a ship, thus moving upon the center of motion A, be either too crank or too stiff.

What hath been said about the weight in the Hold of a ship may be demonstrated by a balance, and needs not any large explication, the properties of the Libra, or balance, being so well known; but, for illustration, be pleased to observe, that if the weights at the ends be equal, and at equal distances from the center of motion, it will cause an equilibrium, and the center of gravity will be in the center of motion, as Fig. 11,

Q

A is

A is the center; suppose B and C equally distant from the center A, it is plain the beam will be horizontal; but if the weight C be flipped to D, the beam must of necessity decline; because A D being double the distance of A B, half the weight at D will balance B; and if the weight be moved to E, being three times the distance A B, one third will balance the weight B; that is, were the weight B 30 pounds, 10 pounds at E would bring the beam to a balance; that is, the power at E must be of the same proportion to the weight B, as the distance A B is to the distance A E.

The following demonstrations will farther prove what hath been said of the ponderosity of a ship's cargo being nearly or farther off from the center of motion:

Fig. 12. B represents the materials above the floating-deck, L the weight of the said materials 6 tuns, C the lead in the hold, P the weight of the said lead 99 tuns, and A the center of motion. Now, so far as the weight P (being the center of magnitude to C) is removed from the true center of magnitude *b* (if the hold was full of water), by so much the ship must be too stiff; for the weight P, being four times and a half distant, more than L, from the center of motion

motion A, the weight L must be 445 tuns 10 hundred, to poize the weight P; and how is it possible such a vessel should yield to the wind, to move 445.5 tuns, but all the masts must be blown by the board? To prevent which, the lead C must be broken into parts, and by billet-wood, or some such light thing, between, raised to the center A, as *a b c*, as aforesaid.

Fig. 13. B represents the materials, as aforesaid, L the weight of the said materials, T the sugar in the hold, P the weight of the sugar, and A the center of motion: The weight P being 99 tuns, and three times farther from the center of motion A than L, the weight L must be 297 tuns, to balance the weight P of 99 tuns, and must be raised gradually from Q to the center of motion A, to make her truly boyant. Therefore, so far as the weight P (being the center of magnitude to the sugar T) is removed from the center of magnitude *b*, if the hold was full of water, by so much she must be too stiff, and ought likewise to be raised to the center of motion A.

Fig. 14. Suppose a ship of 99 tun weight to be laden with light goods, that you are forced to stow some of her cargo between decks.

Let V be light goods in the hold, and B part of the light goods between-decks, L the weight of the goods between-decks, viz. 30 tuns, and likewise the weight of the materials above the floating-deck, viz. 6 tuns, which added, makes 36 tuns, and P the weight of the goods in the hold, viz. 69 tuns. Now, so far as the weight P is drawn towards the center of motion A, from the center of gravity of the goods that should be in the hold, viz. *d*, by so much the weight of goods between-decks must be added over and above to the weight L, and makes the ship too crank; for which reason, ballast must be in the bottom of the hold, to make her stiffer.

*Fig. 15. B represents the materials above the floating-deck, L the weight of the materials 6 tuns, W the water in the hold, P the weight of the water in the hold 99 tuns. This proves that the weight P, lying under the center of gravity or magnitude *e*, or between the center of motion A, and the end of the beam or kelson of the ship R, the vessel must be truly boyant,*
2
if

if you pitch your deck in a true height from the Kelson, otherwise she must be too stiff or too crank. This proves, as before-mentioned, that the water in the hold will divide itself naturally into such equal parts, from R to the center of motion A, as no dry goods can be made to conform to. Therefore water is the most proper cargo to make a ship truly boyant; and in all other lading the goods will be either above or below the center of motion A.

Now, when the reader comes to be convinced by demonstration, that what has been above delivered is matter of fact, I hope there will be no room for any farther objections.

I shall in the next place represent this vessel in as great streſs of weather as I hope she ever will be, and demonstrate that she is then as safe as any ship whatsoever.

Fig. 16. A B the upper-deck, D F the floating deck, L K equal with the superficies of the water on which she swims when upright, in which is the center of motion \odot ; E B equal with the superficies of the water on which she now swims, heeling down to the scupper-holes of the upper-deck, and passing through the center of motion \odot as before; therefore, so deep as the floating-deck is sunk down under water by

the weight of timber, iron, rigging, &c. as DL , or FK , so deep is the water in the well as $G\phi$, Observe, although all between-decks, as $ABDF$ is cavity and dry, and holds 137 tuns, 13 hundred, 2 quarters, and 8 pounds; yet nevertheless, the whole vessel being sunk to LK , and supported on the outside by a trapezium of water, as before shewed, the real cavity between-decks, as LA , KB , measures but 99 tuns, 8 hundred, 2 quarters, and 4 pounds.

Now, considering how the vessel is borne down on one side, by the sails on the mast C , in a violent storm, the point K , being the height of the water on the outside when upright, will be pressed under water as deep as B , and forms a new horizontal line $E\phi B$, on which she now swims; and by consequence must form the triangle ϕBK , whose base ϕK is 8 foot, (the $\frac{1}{2}$ of LK thwartships) and the perpendicular KB , the depth between-decks, from the superficies of the water to the upper-deck, is 4 foot 6 inches, whose superficies ϕKB is 18 foot; the length of the sloop from stem to stern 50 foot, which, multiplied by the superficies ϕKB 18 foot, makes 900 cubic feet; which said 900 feet multiplied by 64.25, the weight of a cubic foot of salt water, the product is 57825 pounds, or 25 tuns, 16 hundred, 1 quarter and 5 pounds. Now let any sea-faring man judge

how great such a storm must be, to heel a vessel of her burden up to her scupper-holes, when there is almost 26 tuns of cavity, equal in weight to salt water of the same magnitude, to press down to B, besides her weight in the hold. All the water (by such a heel) that is emptied out of the hold, is comprehended in the triangle E H D; which is so inconsiderable, that it is not worth taking notice of; because what air is taken in at such a time will be forced out at the air-pipes, when the vessel rightens again. So considering the condition of this vessel, and of another laden with dry goods, we are as safe as any ship whatsoever; for all ships can but move upon the center of Motion; and when she is forced by the wind on one side, she can press no greater weight of water than the cavity (that is pressed down under water) will hold.

The next thing incumbent on us is to prove, that such a vessel freighted with water and fish, and a current running through her at command, will feel her helm, and steer as well as any vessel whatsoever, if her rudder be made in proportion to her burthen, and properly fixed. This becomes necessary from a received notion, that this vessel, whose lading is only water and fish, will neither steer nor sail.

To obviate this objection, it must be well understood, that no ship will steer but in a cur-

rent in a contrary direction to that of the ship; that is to say, the helm must oppose or press against the body of water in which the vessel works, to make her alter her way or course.

We will consider this, *1st*, in a standing water; *2^{dly}*, against a current; and, *3^{dly}*, with a current.

Fig. 17. Suppose D H to be a standing water, and the vessel makes her way from D towards H. Now the vessel's motion presses the rudder B against the body of water D, by which means the vessel is thrust round at the stern on the center A.

2^{dly}, If she sails against a current, as, suppose the current runs from H towards D, and the vessel sails from D towards H, if she makes any or no way through the current, or falls a-stern, yet if her head be to the current, she will steer; because the rudder B presses against the current H D at D, and turns the vessel in the same manner as aforesaid.

3^{dly}, Suppose a vessel sails with a current, as from D towards H; if she hath not more way than the current, she cannot steer, because the motion of the ship is slower than the current of water, which makes it impossible the rudder B should press any weight of water before it, to make

make the vessel steer. But if the ship's motion be faster than the current, the rudder B, by its moving faster than the current D H, will collect a weight of water at D, and steer as before.

I think it will be proper to take the sloop (as at *Fig. 17.*) out of the water, and examine where her imperfections can be, that she will not (as reported) sail and steer as well as any other vessel. First, I think it proper to enquire into the reason, according to Nature and Philosophy, why any ship, sloop, or other vessel, ought to be built broader at the bows than at the stern, and likewise cleaner abaft than before, if you intend she shall steer or sail well.

Suppose *Fig. 18.* to be the hull of a ship or sloop. The triangle A is the most part of it dead wood, that is worked and filled up with solid timbers, and no thicker than the stern-post, on which the rudder hangs; but from thence (being skinned over with plank) it grows wider and wider, to the whole breadth of the bulge at C, which they call a clean tail; and from the stem at E it is somewhat cleaned off underneath; that by the ship's pressing forward, her broad bows at E will contract the water, like a current, to the clean tale at A, and cause the rudder B to press against it, which is the cause of

her steering. This is the case of all ships whatsoever.

Now, in our sloop, the water running through her in a contrary direction to that of the sloop, vents itself on each side of the stern-post; which said current, if the rudder B is on the starboard or larboard tack, must strike the said rudder; and by so much as the weight and force of water press out of the hold, and are stopped by the rudder, by so much the quicker she will answer her helm.

But supposing (though far from granting) that she will not steer so well with the current running through her, we can (upon a lee shore, or any other occasion) immediately stop all the sluices 'fore and aft', and make her a whole vessel, as of the ordinary form; and again, by opening the sluices, in the space of half a minute, we can relieve our fish with a full fresh supply of water. We say, were it so (as we assert it is not) it would be great injury to value this vessel like a WELL-BOAT, wherein fish cannot have fresh supplies of water, perhaps, in a month or six weeks together; and which is no other than a vehicle to bring fish wasting alive, and to be delivered sick and decayed, instead of (what is much better) fresh and just dead.

Now farther, as to her sailing so well as another ship; the nature of the cargo (water and fish)

fish) hath been sufficiently explained already, and (made appear) are in the hold, in regard to the ship, better than dry goods; and if a fish-vessel of this kind is built in its true proportion, she will sail as well as any merchant-man whatsoever; but mistakes and inadvertencies often happen to vessels, for want of knowing the true reason of things; and particularly why a vessel ought to be broader before than abaft, which is demonstrated in *Fig. 18*. Suppose D and F to be two pyramids, by 2 lines at the ends; force them equally, the pyramid D will move faster than F; because the great end moves or forces but little weight of water more than the cube of the square at the end doth contain. But the pyramid F moves with the point forward, like a wedge, pressing as much water as its own solid body contains.

This proves how cautious persons ought to be how they pinch-in a vessel before, and leave her too broad abaft; for certainly nothing can be more hurtful to the sailing of a ship, than a neglect in this particular,

Thus we hope to have fully cleared the suspicion, which is grounded only on the circumstance of the water passing through her hold, that she will not steer or sail: for she has, you see, an advantage in the current passing through her, for feeling her helm quicker, and consequently,

quently, as we have just now shewn, is more likely to steer readily than any other ship; if it be now remembered also that we have before proved, that water is a better and safer lading than dry goods, we need only add concerning the steerage of our sloop, that whether our skilful and ingenious builders, Mr. FRENCH and Mr. WILLIAMSON, or any other, shall build a vessel of the common structure, they will be as unable to answer for her steering or sailing better or worse than any other vessel that shall be named, as they must be as to one of this sort. From all which it appears, that there is nothing particularly disadvantageous in our sloop, as to her capacity for steering or sailing.

The last thing we considered was, how to supply the fish with constant fresh air and water; and to limit the water, so that the currents through the hold shall be no stronger at one time than at another, by which means the fish will be as easy in a storm as in a calm. This is effected by sluices in the hold, that stop and let go the water through it, to the 10th part of an inch. But because this is to done by the run of the sloop, measured by a log-line, we think it proper, in the first place, to inform you what the log-line is that measures the distances run at sea, and how the knots are knit at their true distances,

distances, by which we regulate the flux of water into the hold.

Note, That the equator is divided into 360 degrees, and each degree into 60 parts called miles : and the distance on any meridian is divided likewise into the same equal parts as the equator, *viz.* 60 miles or parts to a degree. This does not answer our English measure, but is nearest the Italian of 5000 English feet to a mile, and 60 such miles to a degree. But since it hath been found by Mr. NORWOOD, by an observation made between London and York, and measured by a chain between those two places, found it to be 69 miles, a half, and 14 foot to a degree of latitude, therefore the same must be a degree of longitude on the equator. Neither could this be true, if the angles on the roads were not exactly taken by an instrument, and by the said angles and distances find the difference of latitude, and east and west meridian-distances of the two places, in the nature of a ship's traverse.

Now it is believed by most, that Mr. Norwood's computation is the best and truest that ever was made; yet notwithstanding all this, most divide the log-line in such proportion as before-mentioned, that 5000 English feet make $\frac{1}{10}$ part, or a mile on the equator. But Mr.

Nor-

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Norwood makes it to be 6116 English feet to $\frac{1}{60}$ part, or a mile, on any meridian, or the equator.

Now considering the log-line to be measured by a half-minute glass, which is the $\frac{1}{120}$ part of an hour; divide Mr. Norwood's mile, viz. 6116 feet by 120, the quotient is almost 51 feet between knot and knot on the line; but if you divide the old calculation, viz. 5000, by 120, the quotient is but 41.66 feet between knot and knot; but they commonly knit 42, which must be very false, or else the famous Mr. Norwood was out in his observations, which could not well be, if he had good instruments to take his angles, an exact chain to measure the distances, and a quadrant of a large radius for an observation.

It is by this log-line we govern the current; or the course of the water through this sloop, according to the ship's way; for, by so much as she will run faster or slower, by so much is the current in the hold faster or slower.

Fig. 19. represents a circle divided into 8 parts; 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, are the knots the ship runs; A, the hand, to move to those knots. This circle is fixed between-decks, over the sluices before. At 10 knots the sluices are quite close, and will not admit of a gallon of water

water into the hold in fix hours ; but move the hand A backward from 10 to 10, the sluices are quite open, and let in the whole current of water. If the ship runs 3, 4, 5, &c. knots, or $3\frac{1}{4}$, $3\frac{1}{2}$, or any of the rest ; move the hand A to the knots, halves, or quarters, it opens or shuts the sluices with immediate readiness, and is managed with the same ease as the hand of a clock ; without which contrivance the fish must have had perpetual disturbance, and been driven all together, as in a net, and stifled for want of air. The sluices abaft are likewise closed or opened at pleasure, as we shall see convenient.

We must desire the world to excuse us from discovering how this contrivance in the hold is framed ; for we are constrained by prudential reasons to conceal it for some time.

It is now our business to proceed to an explanation of an engine for carrying fish alive by land, and describe the contrivance of it, which we conceive to be as well supported by reason and the laws of mechanism, as that for the conveyance of fish by sea.

The Description of a carriage to convey Fish alive to any part by land, keeping a constant current of water through it. See fig. 20.

A, the cistern to hold the fish, being 4 foot 6 inches long, 2 foot 9 inches broad, and the whole depth 2 foot 3 inches, but in water 1 foot 6 inches; it will hold 138.8 gallons, weight 1160 pounds, or 10 hundred 1 quarter and 12 pounds Averdupois weight; F, the fountain to supply the cistern with water, as fast as it is pumped up by the wheel of the carriage, being 2 foot nine inches long, 1 foot 3 inches broad, and 1 foot 3 inches deep, measures 32.14 gallons, wine measure, weight 268 pounds, or 2 hundred 1 quarter and 16 pounds Averdupois weight; D, the pump fixed in the cistern; E, the nozel of the pump; C, an iron bar fastened to the rod of the pump, which said rod is forced up by 3 tappets, fastened to the stock of the wheel, as P, Q, &c. and B, a large tap, to draw out all the old water, when an opportunity serves to fill with fresh.

Now it is plain, as the carriage is drawn along, the motion of the wheels must pump the water out of the cistern A, which contains the fish, into the fountain F, which, by so much as the said fountain is higher than the cistern, by
so

so much the weight of water must press through the small holes out of the bottom of the fountain F, into the cistern A, which must of necessity keep the water always in motion, to the relief of the fish; but at all opportunities on the road, we shall draw out, at the tap B, all the stale water, and fill the fountain and cistern with fresh river or running water. This carriage hath been proved by a carriage made in the like form, wherein were put small fishes, and kept there seven weeks; but when we stopped the current for some time, we found them to grow sick, and one or two die; but when the water was put in motion, we could perceive those still living to revive and grow brisk. By this we concluded, that according to the number of fishes in the carriage, the water would sooner or later corrupt; which likewise proves our assertion in the FISH-Pool sloop.

We have gone through the illustration and proof of our design, as to the reasonableness of it; it remains only that we say something concerning its usefulness; upon which subject, it is neither graceful or necessary to say much, but the thing speaks itself; and when we consider what injury is received by tormenting land-animals, and how the corruption of their bodies is hastened by chasing and driving them, we may easily conceive, that the miserable and

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painful

painful way, in which fish for a much longer time; are conveyed in **WELL-BOATS**, must have suitable unhealthy effects: That so delicious a food as that of sea-animals, brought alive and in health to our very kitchens, wherever we reside, cannot but be as welcome and beneficial to all mankind, as well as fortunate to the undertakers, as any invention that has been brought into practice for many ages.

Neither can this design have any ill consequences upon the **FISHING TRADE** in general; since all men, upon very easy terms, may be admitted into the use of this machine, in such a manner, as that the persons already engaged in it may have no reason to complain, and all the rest of the world have very great and unexpected benefit by it.

The lowering the price of fish will abundantly make up to the sellers of it, by the much greater number of purchasers; and if a man gets ten pound by selling what cost him five, to twenty people, he will be in a better condition, than when he made seven pounds of five, by selling the commodity which cost him that sum, to fifteen, ten, or five persons: for it is certain, that when a better commodity can be had for a lower price, the number of new purchasers will more than make up for the abatement of the price formerly given by a few.

But notwithstanding the plain proof of the reasonableness of this design, which has been here made in theory, and the practice of it in little experiments; we must not expect the world will be fully convinced of the truth and usefulness of it, till we have actually presented them with fish imported in great quantities this way. But we thought it incumbent upon us to explain ourselves before we exposed men to the hazard of the seas on so new a projection: for should it so happen (which God forbid!) that this vessel should come to any disaster in circumstances which would be equally dangerous to any vessel of the ordinary structure; it would be attributed to the novelty of her make, and never acknowledged, that any other ship in that situation would have equally suffered.

But it is time to fear that we are falling into the natural infirmity of being too fond of our own productions; we therefore (begging leave to annex the patent which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to give for the use of this invention for the ordinary term in such cases) submit the whole matter, with great humility, to the consideration of the publick.

GEORGE R.

GEORGE, by the Grace of God, &c. To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting.

WHEREAS our trusty and well-beloved subject, Sir RICHARD STEELE, Knt. hath, by his petition, humbly represented unto us, that he has, for some years last past, turned the intention and bent of his thoughts and studies to the good and service of the publick; and that he has, from much search, enquiry, and conversation, among sundry artists, artificers, and persons of learning, at great expence, invented a certain vessel, which, by the structure thereof, can bring fish, wherever caught, to any distant place, alive and in health; which will greatly contribute to the general good of all our subjects; humbly praying us to grant him our royal letters patents, for the sole use and benefit of his said invention for the space of fourteen years: *Know ye*, That We (being willing to give encouragement to arts and inventions that may be of public use and benefit), of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and meer motion, have given and granted, and by these presents, for Us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, especial licence, full power,

power, sole privilege and authority, that He the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, by himself or themselves, or by his deputy or deputies, servants or agents, or such others as he the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, or assigns, shall at any time agree with, and no others, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, during the said term of fourteen years, shall and lawfully may exercise, work, use and enjoy, the said new invention of making and using such vessel or vessels aforesaid, which, by the structure thereof, can bring fish, wherever caught, to any distant place alive and in health, in such manner as to him the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, or any of them, shall in their discretions seem meet: And that he the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, shall and may have and enjoy the whole profit, benefit, commodity, and advantage, from time to time coming, growing, accruing, and so arising, by reason of the said invention; to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said licence, powers, privileges, and advantages herein before mentioned, to be hereby granted unto the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, for and during and unto the full end and term of fourteen

years from the date of these presents, next and immediately ensuing, and fully to be compleat and ended, according to the statute in that case made and provided. And to the intent that the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, and every of them, may have and enjoy the full benefit and advantage, and the sole use and exercise of the said invention, according to our gracious intention herein before declared, We do, by these presents, for Us, our heirs and successors, require and strictly command all and every person and persons, bodies politic and corporate, and all other our subjects whatsoever, of what estate, quality, degree, name, or condition soever they be, within that part of our said kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, that neither they nor any of them, at any time, during the said term of fourteen years, either directly or indirectly, do make, use, exercise, or put in practice, the said invention, or any part of the same, so attained unto by the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, as aforesaid; or shall in any wise counterfeit, imitate, or resemble the same; nor shall make or cause to be made any addition thereto, or subtraction from the same, whereby to pretend himself or themselves the inventor or inventors, deviser or devisors thereof, without the licence, consent,

consent, or agreement of the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, or assigns, in writing under his or their hands and seals first had and obtained in that behalf, upon such pains and penalties as can or may be justly inflicted on such offenders, for their contempt of this our royal command; and farther, to be answerable unto the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, according to law, for all damages which he or they shall or may sustain thereby. And moreover, we do by these presents, for Us, our heirs and successors, will and command all and singular our justices of the peace, mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, headboroughs, and all other officers and ministers whatsoever, of Us, our heirs and successors for the time being, that they or any of them do not or shall not at any time hereafter, during the said term hereby granted, in any wise molest, trouble, or hinder the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, or his, their, or any of their deputies, servants, or agents, in or about the exercise of the said invention, or any thing relating thereunto. *Provided always*, and these our letters patents are and shall be upon this condition, That if at any time during the said term hereby granted, it

shall be made appear to Us, our heirs or successors, or any six or more of our or their privy-council, that this our grant is contrary to law, or prejudicial or inconvenient to our subjects in general; or that the said invention is not a new invention, as to the public use and exercise thereof, within that part of our said kingdom of Great-Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, or not invented and found out by the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, as aforesaid; Then, upon signification and declaration thereof, to be made by Us, our heirs or successors, under our or their signet or privy-seal, or by the Lords and others of our or their privy-council, or any six or more of them, under their hands; these our letters patents shall forthwith cease, determine, and be utterly void to all intents and purposes, any thing herein before contained to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. *Provided also*, that these our letters patents, or any thing herein contained, shall not extend or be construed to extend to give privilege to the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, or assigns, or any of them, to use, or imitate, any invention or work whatsoever, which hath heretofore been found out, or invented, by any other of our subjects whatsoever,

ever, and publicly used or enjoyed within that part of our kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed, unto whom like letters patents, or privileges, have been already granted, as aforesaid; Our royal will and pleasure being, that such other our subjects, and the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, shall distinctly use and practise their several inventions, by them invented and found out, according to the true intent and meaning of the same respective letters patents, and of these presents. *And lastly,* We do by these presents, for Us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, that these our letters patents, or the enrollment thereof, shall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, and effectual in the law; and shall be taken, construed, and adjudged in the most favourable and beneficial sense, and for the best advantage of the said Sir RICHARD STEELE, his executors, administrators, and assigns, as well in all courts of record as elsewhere, and by all and singular the officers and ministers whatsoever, of Us, our heirs and successors, within that part of our said kingdom of Great Britain called England, our dominion
of

250 SIR R. STEELE'S FISH-POND.

of Wales, and town of Berwick upon Tweed,
and amongst all and every the subjects of Us,
our heirs, and successors whatsoever and where-
soever ; notwithstanding the not full and certain
describing the nature and quality of the said
invention, or of the materials thereto conducing
and belonging. *In Witness, &c.*

Witness, &c.

P. 212. l. 6. for " 62,75," r. " 62,5 pounds."

P. 217. l. 4. for " 982," r. 966, 5 cubick feet."



THE

THE PLEBEIAN*,

By SIR RICHARD STEELE.

"Quisquis erit vitæ scribam color."

HOR. 2 Sat. i. 60.

I still must write, whatever be my doom.

DUNCOMBE.

W I T H

THE OLD WHIG†.

By MR. ADDISON.

* Originally printed in quarto, price 6d. each number, and published by S. Popping, at the Black Raven, in Pater-noster Row, where Letters directed for the Plebeian were taken in.

† Originally published in quarto, price 6d. each number, by J. Roberts, in Warwick-Lane; and A. Dodd, at the Peacock, without Temple-Bar.

*** "In 1718-19, a controversy was agitated, with great vehemence, between those friends of long continuance, ADDISON and STEELE. It may be asked, in the language of Homer, what power or what cause could set them at variance. The subject of their dispute was of great importance. The earl of Sunderland proposed an act called the PEERAGE BILL, by which the number of peers should be fixed, and the king restrained from any new creation of nobility, unless when an old family should be extinct. To this the lords would naturally agree; and the king, who was yet little acquainted with his own prerogative, and, as is now well known, almost indifferent to the possessions of the crown, had been persuaded to consent. The only difficulty was found among the commons, who were not likely to approve the perpetual exclusion of themselves and their posterity. The bill therefore was eagerly opposed, and among others by Sir Robert Walpole, whose speech was published. The lords might think their dignity diminished by improper advancements, and particularly by the introduction of twelve new peers at once, to produce a majority of Tories in the last reign; an act of authority violent enough, yet certainly legal, and by no means to be compared with that contempt of national

national right, with which some time afterwards, by the instigation of Whiggism, the commons, chosen by the people for three years, chose themselves for seven. But, whatever might be the disposition of the lords, the people had no wish to increase their power. The tendency of the bill, as STEELE observed in a letter to the earl of Oxford, was to introduce an Aristocracy, for a majority in the house of lords, so limited, would have been despotick and irresistible. To prevent this subversion of the ancient establishment, STEELE, whose pen readily seconded his political passions, endeavoured to alarm the nation by a pamphlet called the PLEBEIAN. To this an answer was published by ADDISON under the title of the OLD WHIG, in which it is not discovered that STEELE was then known to be the advocate for the Commons. STEELE replied by a second PLEBEIAN; and, whether by ignorance or by courtesy, confined himself to his question, without any personal notice of his opponent. Nothing hitherto was committed against the laws of friendship, or proprieties of decency; but controvertists cannot long retain their kindness for each other. The OLD WHIG answered the PLEBEIAN, and could not forbear some contempt of *Little Dicky*, whose trade it was to write pamphlets. *Dicky* however did not lose his settled veneration for his

his friend ; but contented himself with quoting some lines of Cato, which were at once detection and reproof. The bill was laid aside during that session ; and Addison died before the next, in which its commitment was rejected by two hundred sixty-five to one hundred seventy-seven. Every reader surely must regret that these two illustrious friends, after so many years past in confidence and endearment, in unity of interest, conformity of opinion, and fellowship of study, should finally part in acrimonious opposition. Such a controversy was *Bellum plusquam civile*, as Lucan expresses it. Why could not faction find other advocates ? But, among the uncertainties of the human state, we are doomed to number the instability of friendship.

Of this dispute I have little knowledge but from the *Biographia Britannica*. The *Old Whig* is not inserted in Addison's works, nor is it mentioned by Tickell in his Life. Why it was omitted the biographers doubtless give the true reason ; the fact was too recent, and those who had been heated in the contention were not yet cool."

DR. JOHNSON.

THE

T H E - P L E B E I A N,

By a Member of the House of Commons.

Nº I. SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1718-19.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS
RELATING TO THE PEERAGE.

“ —Hoc miseræ Plebi—commune Sepulchrum.”

HOR. 1 Sat. viii. 10.

In this detested ground

A common tomb the vulgar found. FRANCIS.

ALL men in high stations have their enemies, who are ready to suggest on every occasion whatever may tend to lessen their credit, and make them odious to the publick. The persons at present in great authority have been pursued by this Evil Spirit; but it would be unjust to give too easy belief to the insinuations of malicious people. At the beginning of this session it was reported with much assurance, that a wonderful discovery was made, that all the charters of England were forfeited into the hands of the Crown; and this happy incident, as they called it, was to afford an opportunity of introducing a law much for the public service. But this was so far from being true, that the bill which came down from the house of Peers was
a con-

a confirmation of the charters, without so much as a declaration of any forfeiture. Perhaps it might have been true, that some little lawyer had found out some mean chicane in law, worthy enough of the pursuit of such a person, in a private corporation-squabble; but such a project, in order to a universal forfeiture, could never have weight with any judicious man whatever. Nobody could be so very a novice in business, or so extravagant in politicks, as to put his Majesty upon an undertaking, which contributed more towards the ruin of king James, than any one thing, or perhaps than every thing else besides. When this report was blown over, the next thing insinuated to the publick was a design of making a jest of what justice has been accidentally done to the nation, by repealing the attainder of one of the greatest offenders of the late reign. It is very certain no such attempt will be now made. There has been a just indignation shewn already at the bare mention of it, and it is unfair to charge any particular person with having had any such intention; much less should a scandalous discourse gain credit, that any great officer belonging to his Majesty would correspond abroad with an attainted fugitive, intercede for him at home, and even prostitute the character of an ambassador so low, as to become the messenger of a traitor. These

two unjust accusations were laid at the door of some great people at the beginning, and towards the middle of this session ; and now at the end of it, the publick is alarmed at the report of another design of a more dangerous nature than either of those already mentioned. But as those former reports have not proved true, so I doubt not but this will likewise vanish in the same manner. However, as I was ready to have appeared in publick on either of the former occasions, if there had been a necessity for it ; so, if I am a little more forward in the present affair, I hope the importance of it will justify me : and if I should lose my labour, I shall however shew that good intention for the service of my Sovereign and my fellow-subjects with which I have always exposed myself at a dangerous crisis.

It is affirmed by some people, that a bill will be offered to the House of Commons, in which the present 16 Peers of Scotland are to be made hereditary, to the exclusion of their electors, and 9 more added upon the same foot ; and 6 more are to be added to the number of English peers ; and then the Crown is to be restrained from making any new Lords but upon the extinction of families.

At first sight, this proposal must appear very shocking ; it carries with it so great an alter-

ation of the constitution ; it implies so direct a breach of the Union, and of natural justice ; and encroaches so much upon the prerogative of the Crown.

As to what relates to the Scottish Peerage, I must confess I am at a loss to say any thing to it. If the most solemn contract betwixt two Nations is to be violated ; if persons are to be deprived of their right without being heard, and without any pretence of forfeiture ; if those, who have a power intrusted to them by their principals only for a few years, can seize it to themselves and their posterity for ever ; what use will be made of power so acquired, I leave every one to judge.

The shutting up the door of the House of Lords, in the manner talked of, cannot but prove a great discouragement to virtuous actions, to learning and industry, and very detrimental to the House of Peers itself, by preventing such frequent supplies from going into it as the nature of such a body requires ; for want of which, it may in time become corrupt and offensive, like a stagnated pool, which hitherto has been preserved wholesome and pure by the fresh streams that pass continually into it.

I am not unaware that it will be said, *That the frequent extinctions of families will save this inconveniencce, and make room for the rewarding of Merit*

Merit. But this expedient, I fear, is not much to be depended on ; for the uncertainty of the time when the Crown will have any such power, will make it much the same as if it was never to have it at all. Besides, it is to be considered, that the patrons of this proposal argue vehemently for it, *on account, that this will be a means to ease the Crown from the great importunity of Pretenders to Peerage.* If so, it is certain in what manner they will proceed in all vacancies, which will be by filling them up instantly ; or else the inconvenience would be increased as to importunity, and not diminished. This being the case, it is very evident by what sort of people those vacancies will be supplied ; undoubtedly by the creatures and relations of those Peers who have at that time the greatest influence in the House, and whose requests to the Throne will very much resemble *demands* ; and this honour, in all probability, will only be thought proper for their own families. An instance of this we have in the distinction of the Garter. At the first institution of that order, and till of late years, several Commoners had the honour (as the reward of merit) to be of that noble body : but at present it would be looked upon as a high presumption in any Commoner to pretend to it, let his services be never so great.

But another consequence, of a much higher nature, attending the limitation of the number of Peers, is the danger there will be of changing the Constitution by this means into an Aristocracy ; and this may at any time in such case be effected by the confederacy of two or three great families, which would form such a body amongst the Lords as the Crown would not be able to controul. That this kind of government is one of the worst sorts of slavery, is too well known to be disputed. In a Democracy a great many different persons may come to have a share of power by several incidents ; but in the other state it is birth only that entitles to superiority ; and the milk such Nobles are nursed up with, is hatred and contempt for every human creature but those of their own imaginary dignity.

These being some of the inconveniences and hazards which naturally occur upon this proposal, let us see what are the advantages which on the other hand, it is said, will flow from it.

First, “ That this will be a bar upon the
 “ Crown, and prevent the King upon the throne
 “ from flinging-in a great number of Lords on
 “ a sudden, only to answer a present purpose,
 “ as the late Queen once did.”

Secondly, “ That it will be a means to keep
 “ property or great estates in the House of
 “ Com-

“ Commons, from whence they are generally
“ drawn out into the House of Peers.”

These are said to be such plain Whig-points,
as no Whig can oppose.

Whiggism, if I understand it aright, is a desire of Liberty, and a spirit of Opposition to all exorbitant Power in any part of the Constitution. Formerly the danger on this account was from the Crown; but since the Habeas Corpus Act, and the many Restraints laid upon the Crown in King William's Time, and the great and numerous Limitations of the Succession Acts, the Prerogative of the Crown is reduced so low, that it is not at all dangerous to the Commons. Besides, the Crown has frequent occasions for the assistance of the Commons; but the Lords never. The Lords are judges of the property of the Commons in the last resort; and even in cases where they themselves are concerned, they have their actions *de Scandalis Magnatum*, and exercise a power of imprisoning, not confined within any very certain boundaries. And therefore the chief circumsppection of the Commons ought to be employed at present, that those who have so much power already do not get more than the Commons will be able to withstand in any manner. I confess the making a great number of Lords on a sudden has one inconvenience: it may pre-

vent some good to the publick, but cannot do any great hurt, and is more grievous in its consequences to the Crown than to the People. The increasing the number of Peers is always to be wished for by the Commons, because the greater their number, the less considerable they become, and the less within the influence of Court favours ; by which means alone Ministers are kept in awe, and remain in a situation of being called to account for their actions. Were it otherwise, they would be out of the reach of any accusation. They would know exactly by whom they were to be tried, and their Judges might be their accomplices. And should this once come to be the case, what might they not attempt with impunity ?

On the other hand, if their Lordships complain of the great number of Peers as a grievance to themselves, why are they desirous any more should be made ? If twelve at once was so bad a precedent, what is fifteen, taking it in one light ? what is thirty-one, if you take it in another ?

If, at the Union, sixteen Scottish Noblemen were found to be a just proportion to represent their whole Nobility, what has happened since, to give reason to increase their number to twenty-five ? Why may they not as well a few years hence, especially if the head of a clan is to be taken

taken in, who may not like the set of Nobles at that time, demand to be made fifty, to give his followers the majority; and so from time to time continue to play the game into each other's hands, as long as there is one Nobleman left in Scotland, or any Civil List in England? If the Commoners of England are to be excluded from the House of Lords, why are they not excluded forthwith? It cannot be supposed that titles *in petto* are kept on purpose to bribe persons of consequence in the house of Commons, to drive such a bill through that part of the Legislature.

Upon the foot the Constitution has subsisted many years, the Crown, in all great emergencies relating immediately to itself, has been able to fence against the Lords by adding to their number, and against the Commons by dissolutions; and in like manner in cases of difference betwixt the two Houses. But if such a law as is mentioned above should be made, and any difference happen hereafter betwixt the Crown and the House of Peers, or betwixt the Two Houses of Parliament, the Crown may not have it in its power to influence the Lords in relation to the Commons. And therefore it must be the inevitable consequence of such a misfortune, that both the Crown and the Commons must submit to the Lords. In former times, the

greatest art and care of the Crown and Ministers used to be the preventing of jealousies and differences betwixt the two Houses. This proposal, I fear, would be raising an implacable animosity and hatred, scarce ever to be reconciled.

The great advantage that the number of their body cannot be increased, is at present the most valuable privilege of the Commons, and the only thing that makes them considerable. The Lords are possessed of many great privileges that they will not permit the Commons to share with them; and therefore the Commons would be highly wanting to themselves, if they should add this advantage likewise to the Lords, which is the only one that they enjoy distinct from them.

It has been used as an argument, by some people, for the increasing the number of the Lords, "That the Crown formerly increased the number of the Commons, in particular in Queen Elizabeth's reign." But I desire it may be understood, that the sending members to Parliament at that time was not desired as a favour, but imposed as a burden. Queen Elizabeth erected several new corporations; but then the reason for it was, she relieved several antient and decayed ones from sending any Members at all.

And

And how little this resembles the present case is easily perceived.

The other advantage, which it is said will accrue from this proposal, is, " That it will be a means to keep property amongst the Commons."

I cannot see that there is occasion for so extraordinary a step as this is, and accompanied with so many evils, to procure us this assurance. Property or wealth in every age flows faster back to the Commons by the extinction of families, but much more by the want of œconomy in the Peers, than it is drawn from them by the promotions of the Crown. Besides, we see estates are often extinct before families; and property is very rarely increased in the House of Peers. Indeed, if a restraining bill should pass, I do not doubt but it would soon be followed with a bill to prevent Lords from alienating their estates, for which many plausible reasons are to be produced; and then, without all dispute, the balance of property would be soon turned on the side of their Lordships.

These are all the arguments I have heard for this supposed bill; which is neither a Whig nor a Tory point, but would be a scheme that might hereafter set up some Nobles above the Crown and the Commons both. For as to what is commonly said, That the Lords would get nothing,

thing, no new power would be added to them by this means ; I beg leave to state this matter in a proper light. Suppose the balance to be now *even* betwixt the Lords and the Crown, as it certainly is, or else the Constitution would not subsist in quiet ; is it not plain to the most common capacity, that when two scales are upon an equal poise, if you take any weight out of one of them, you give the advantage to the other, without putting any thing into it ?

How dangerous it may prove to vary the balance of power in a limited Monarchy, we may learn from the ruin of one of the best-founded Governments amongst the Antients. The original power, the Ephori, in the Lacedæmonian state, were invested with, besides that of being part of the Legislature, was chiefly the determining law-matters relating to private contracts, and such-like business. In the absence of their Kings they composed the Regency : “ Regum ab-
“ sentum vicarii erant,” is the expression made use of by Cragg, de Rep. Lac. p. 76. But afterwards, upon the diminution of the Regal authority (which indeed was voluntarily complied with by their King, as I shall shew by and by), their power grew immense, “ Eorum potestas in immensum aucta est.” Cragg, *ibid*.

They administered every thing of consequence : they disposed of the public treasure :
they

they influenced the assembly of the people, and made them vote for peace or war, as they thought fit; “*Concionem populi regebant; bellum pacemque concionis suffragiis sciscebant.*” *Ubbō Emius, de Rebus Græcis*, p. 293. They made or broke treaties; they raised or disbanded the army. In fine, they had or usurped the right of rewarding or punishing whom and when they pleased. At last they took upon them to dethrone; or imprison, or execute, their Kings themselves. *Theopompus*, King of Sparta, was advised against giving way to the diminution of the royal dignity, by which the power of those Magistrates grew so great: but he declared he did it, to settle the government by that means upon a more lasting foundation; “*ut diuturniorem potestatem relinqueret.*” *Cragg*, p. 74.

This unwary step proved fatal both to the Crown and the People, and ended in the ruin of the Constitution. *Theopompus* was one of the most virtuous, most moderate, and most gracious Princes amongst all the Spartan Kings. It appeared evidently by this very instance of his willingness to part with the power of the Crown for the good of his People: but for that very reason the People should not have suffered the authority of the Crown to have been weakened; but should rather have added to it, since power could not be lodged any where else so
much

much for their safety and advantage. When the Prince had no longer force enough to restrain the many-headed Sovereignty, it bore down all that stood in its way, as we have heard; and in the end grew so insupportable, that the People, to be delivered from so vile a slavery, submitted to the usurpation of a private person, who, to the satisfaction of revenging them upon their oppressors, added this single act of grace: he wiped off all the public debts at once; “*ut plebem demulseret, æs alienum universum delevit.*” Emmius, p. 349. “*Et respublica in Tyrannidem conversa est.*” Cragg, p. 72.

Those who are desirous to consult the Author himself, whom I have chiefly quoted on this occasion, must have recourse to his book of the Lacedemonian government, printed 1593, apud Petrum Santandream. It appears by the dedication of this treatise, that he was a follower of the first minister of the Court of Denmark, upon whom he solely depended to make his fortune, “*tuo patrocinio salus mea constituta,*” Ep. Ded. The character Ubbo Emmius (a great Lawyer of that age, who was a sort of rival to my Author) gives of Cragg, is, That he was a person of great boldness and industry, “*ausu & industriâ,*” Pref. to De Reb. Græc. but not so happy in his judgment. But, begging pardon for this digression, which is only intended for
the

the curious, and to return to my subject. There are other and more modern instances, and living Historians of our own, who can satisfy us, that too great a power in the hands of the Nobility has brought on the ruin of many free nations. This was the case of Sweden a few years ago, as appears plainly from the very ingenious labours of a venerable Prelate * of the present house of Peers. This was the case of Denmark, of which a very accurate account has been given by a noble Lord † of a neighbouring kingdom, a member of the House of Commons. Nothing

* Dr. John Robinson, at that time Bishop of London, had in his younger days been a considerable time Envoy at the Court of Sweden; and published "The History of Livonia" in 1706. See further particulars of him in "Bishop ATTERBURY'S Epistolary Correspondence," 1789," vol. I. p. 436.

† Robert Lord Viscount Moleſworth was sent Envoy extraordinary to Denmark by King William in 1692. After a residence of three years, some particulars in his conduct disoblighing his Danish Majesty, he was forbid the Court. Pretending business in Flanders, he retired thither without any audience of leave, and came from thence home: where he was no sooner arrived, than he drew up "an Account of Denmark;" in which he represented the government of that country to be arbitrary and tyrannical. This piece was greatly resented by Prince George of Denmark, consort to the Princess, afterwards Queen Anne; and Scheel, the Danish Envoy, first presented a memorial to King William, complaining of it, and then furnished materials for an answer, which was executed by Dr. William King of the Commons. From King's account it appears, that Moleſworth's offence in Denmark was, his boldly pretending to some privileges, which, by the custom of the country, are denied to every body but the King; as travelling the King's road, and hunting the King's game: which being done, as is represented, in defiance of opposition, occasioned the rupture between the Envoy and that Court. In the mean time his book was well received by the publick, and translated into several languages.

can be better writ, or more instructive to any one that values liberty, than the narrative of that tragedy in that excellent treatise. I wish gentlemen would see there, how Commons were treated by the Nobility when they had the power over them. This noble Lord will inform them, that “ they laid heavy impositions on the Commons at pleasure ; which weight they themselves would not touch with one of their fingers.” And when the Commons presumed to complain, though they were just come “ from saving, from a foreign yoke, not only the capital city of their country, but the whole kingdom, the Royal Family, nay those very Nobles that dealt so hardly by them :” I say, when the Commons ventured to complain, let any Englishman but hear the answer that was given them : “ A principal Senator,” says his Lordship, “ stood up, and in great anger told the President of the city, that the Commons neither understood nor considered the privileges of the Nobility, nor the true condition of themselves, who were no other than slaves.” The Commons, fired with indignation at this treatment, and resolving, if they were to be slaves, to be slaves to their Prince, rather than slaves to their fellow-subjects, instantly surrendered all their liberties to their King ; and the Lords were forced to follow their
example

example with so much haste, that “in four days time that kingdom was changed,” says my noble and honest Author, “to as absolute a “Monarchy as any in the whole world.”

In short, it has been for our antient Constitution that we have struggled with so much vigour for many years together: it is for that we have poured out a river of English blood, and a treasure unheard-of in any former age. This Constitution may have its imperfections; but, faulty as it is, our ancestors have conveyed down Liberty to us through that channel: and we ought to continue it on, as well as we can, to our posterity, and not give way to the new-modelling schemes of every extraordinary genius. It would certainly be new-modelling the Constitution in a great measure, to take a considerable part of what power is left to the Crown from the Crown, and by that means add very much to the power of the Lords.

Besides, it is to be remembered, that the evil, which may be brought upon the Commons by this means, will be irretrievable. Those persons deceive themselves, who think, that if such a law should prove destructive, it may be annulled, nothing being more usual than for one Parliament to repeal the acts of another. This is true in common cases, because almost all laws relate to every part of the Legislature, and any incon-

venience

venience is felt in some measure by each of them : but this will be a law which will relate chiefly, nay solely, to the Lords ; and, whatever injury the Crown or the Commons may receive by it, their Lordships will be very sensible of the advantage of it to themselves : and nothing can be more vain, than to imagine that the Commons will be ever able to shake off any exorbitant power that the Lords shall be once possessed of, unless it be by an universal destruction, like those just mentioned, which will swallow Lords and Commons and all Estates together. For which reasons, this project, if it should ever be offered to the Commons, is not only to be opposed with all the zeal imaginable, but every step, every attempt towards it, is to be detested. He that gives the power of blood, is a murderer ; and he that gives the power of tyranny, is a tyrant. I shall add but one word more : The greatest traitor to civil society that ever yet appeared, will be the man, if such a one can be found, who shall contend for such a bill, should it be proposed amongst the Commons, with the assurance in his pocket of being a Peer as soon as the bill passes : and should he succeed (which God forbid !) that honour, which is to be the reward of so base a treachery, will be a lasting mark of infamy to the family that bears it, whilst any notion of honesty remains amongst mankind.

THE

THE OLD WHIG,

Nº I. THURSDAY, MARCH 19, 1718-19.

ON THE STATE OF THE PEERAGE.

WITH

REMARKS UPON THE PLEBEIAN.

“ ——— quod optanti Divûm promittere nemo

“ Auderet,volvendo dies en attulit ultro.”

VIRG. ÆN. ix. 7.

What none of all the Gods could grant thy vows,
That, Turnus, this auspicious day bestows.

DRYDEN.

I FIND that men, who have turned their thoughts to what is now the great subject, not only of our parliamentary debates, but of our private conversation, are apt to complain, it is a matter of such a perplext nature, and admits of so many arguments on either side, that they are rather bewildered than instructed, by what they have heard in discourse, or seen in print, upon this occasion. But, as I think this perplexity does not arise in mens minds from the nature of the thing itself, so much as from the way of handling it, I shall endeavour to draw out the whole state of this affair with such brevity and method, as may neither tire

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nor puzzle the reader; but carry his thoughts through a series of observations and arguments, that will regularly grow out of one another, and set this matter in its full light *.

1. Those

* Among the pamphlets occasioned by the Peerage Bill, we may reckon, "The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House, in relation to a project for restraining and limiting the Power of the Crown, in the future creation of Peers. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 3d."

"Si violandum jus, regnandi causa violandum.

"Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

"Devil's Speech in Milton's Paradise Lost."

Published March 17, 1718-19. [This was written by Mr. Afsill.]

"Some Considerations relating to the Peerage of Great Britain; wherein the Arguments for the Reasonableness and Expediency of a Bill said to be depending are stated pro and con. Printed for Bez. Creak. Price 6d." March 18.

"A Letter from a Member of the House of Commons to a Gentleman without doors, relating to the Bill of Peerage lately brought into the House of Lords; together with two Speeches, for and against the Bill, supposed to be spoke in the House of Commons. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 1s." March 19.

"Considerations concerning the Nature and Consequences of the Bill now depending in Parliament, relating to the Peerage of Great Britain. In a Letter from one Member of the House to another. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 4d." March 19.

"The OLD WHIG." March 19. [Two Numbers only; both here preserved.]

"Some Reflections upon a Pamphlet called The OLD WHIG. By the Author of the Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House.

"The Evils that I have done cannot be safe

"But by attempting greater; and I find

"A Spirit within me chides my sluggish Hands,

"And says, go on." Vid. Catiline's Conspiracy.

"Flectere si nequeo superos, Acheronta movebo.

"Printed for J. Roberts. Price 6d." March 20.

"Two Lists, shewing the alterations that have been made in the House of Commons, from the Beginning of the Reign of King Henry
"VILL.

1. Those who are thought the best writers upon Government, both Antients and Moderns, have unanimously agreed in opinion, that the most perfect and reasonable form is a mixt Government, in opposition to that of any single person, or any single order of men. For whether the Supreme, that is, the Legislative Power, be lodged entirely in a Prince, or in an Aristocracy, or in a Democracy, it is still looked upon as Tyrannical, and not properly calculated for the happiness of the whole Community.

2. It is also established as a maxim among Political Writers, that the division of the Supreme or Legislative Power is most perfect, when it is distributed into three branches. If it all

"VIII. to the End of that of King James I. And in the House of Peers,
"from the Accession of King James I. to this Time. Printed for J.
"Roberts, Price 6d." March 20.

"An exact List of the Peers of Scotland at the Time of the Union.
"Printed for J. Morphew, Price 2d." March 21. [This and the pre-
ceding article are preserved in the "Political State, 1719," vol. XVII.]

"Some Considerations humbly offered relating to the Peerage of
"Great Britain. By a Gentleman.

"Res Italas armis tueris, moribus ornes,
"Legibus emendes. Hor. Ep. ad Augustum, ver. 2.

"Printed for Bez. Creak, Price 6d." March 21.

"The PATRICIAN. To be continued Weekly. N^o 1. Being Con-
siderations on the Peerage. In answer to the PLEBEIAN.

"—that sins against his Reason,

"Call's sawcy loud Sedition Public Zeal,

"And Mutiny the Dictates of his Spirit." Otway's Orphan.

"By one who is neither a Knight, nor a Member of the House of
Commons. Printed for J. Roberts. Price 3d." March 21.

Three other Numbers of this Work appeared, which will all be
duly noticed as they arise in order of time.

centers in one man, or in a body of men of the same quality, it is that form of Government which is called Tyrannical. If it be thrown into two branches, it wants a Casting Power, and is under such a divided authority as would often draw two different ways, and produce some time or other such a discord as would expose the weaker to that which had most strength in it, and by degrees end in a single authority. If it consist of four Branches, it wants likewise a Casting Power, and is liable to the same inconveniences as when it is composed of Two. And if it be divided into five or more parts, it necessarily runs into confusion, and will not long retain either the form or the name of Government. For this reason, three branches in a Legislature have been always fixed upon as the proper number; because it affords a Casting Power, and may moderate any heats in any two contending branches, and overpower the third in case it should prove unreasonable, or refuse to come into measures apparently necessary for the good and preservation of the Community.

3. The most natural and equitable division of these three branches of the Legislature is the Regal, the Noble, and the Plebeian; because the whole Community is cast under these several heads, and has not in it a single Member who

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is without his Representative in the Legislature of such a Constitution.

4. In the next place it is necessary that these three branches should be entirely separate and distinct from each other, so that no one of them may lie too much under the influence and controul of either of the collateral Branches. For if one part of the Legislature may any ways be invested with a power to force either of the other Two to concur with it, the Legislative Power is in reality, whatever it may pretend to, divided into no more than Two Branches.

5. It is the usual boast of Englishmen, that our Government is fixed upon this triple basis, which has been allowed even in speculation, and that by persons who could have no eye to our Constitution, a form the most accommodated to the happiness of a Community, and the most likely to stand secure in its own strength. But if upon examination one branch of its Legislature is liable on any occasion to be entirely mastered and controled by one of the other, it is certain that nothing can be more desirable than such an improvement in our Constitution as may remove out of it this visible imperfection. If a King has power, when he pleases, to add what number he shall think fit to a body of Nobles who have a vote in the Legislature, it is plain he may secure his point in that branch of

the Legislature, and by that means command two votes out of three. This has made many assert, and I wish I could hear a satisfactory answer to it, that there are not properly more than two branches in our Legislature, notwithstanding we flatter ourselves that they are three.

6. In this case, a precarious power of Nobles, so far subject to the Regal Power in their legislative capacity, might sometimes be more pernicious to the publick than if the power of both the Branches were confessedly united in the Sovereign; because we might well suppose a bad King would scarce venture upon some things, were the whole odium of them to turn upon himself; whereas a body of Peerage, should they only be created in an emergency to carry any unjustifiable design, would serve to divert or silence the murmurs of the publick.

7. It is a known saying of a late British King, "That if his friends could gain him a House of Commons, he would throw his troop of guards into the House of Lords, rather than miscarry in his measures." And whether it is possible for a Court to gain a House of Commons of what complexion they please, and what would be the consequences at some time or other of their success in such an attempt, whilst the Crown is possessed of a certain means, by virtue of its prerogative, of filling the House of Lords with

with its own creatures, are points too evident in themselves to be insisted upon.

8. The foregoing reflections are like first principles that have scarce been ever called into dispute, and have not only been the avowed maxims of those who have been distinguished by the name of Whigs, but have furnished matter of complaint to every party in its turn. This power of the Prerogative has always occasioned murmurs, when either side has found it exerted to their prejudice. We have often wished for a redress of it, and have now an opportunity of coming at it, which if we do not lay hold of is not likely to offer itself again so long as we are a people.

9. It is proposed, to prevent those many inconveniencies which may arise from an arbitrary creation of Peers, in what proportion and at what time the Sovereign shall please, to restrain the Peers to a certain number. It is evident that such a law would remedy those many evils that may proceed from such sudden and numerous additions which have been made to the House of Lords in the most critical conjunctures. But I find there are objections made to this expedient, from the consequences it would have upon the Crown.

10. It is represented, that it will be the cutting off a branch from the Prerogative. But if

this be only the cutting off a branch which is pernicious to the publick, it is certainly a very good argument for doing it, when we can; and that this Power is of such a nature, can scarce admit of a dispute. Besides, that the Crown, far from being lessened by it, will receive a greater lustre, by parting with a Prerogative that has so often given offence, and may some time turn to the destruction of the subject.

11. The Crown, as a branch of the Legislature, cannot desire a greater Prerogative than that of a Negative in the passing of a law; and as it ought not to influence either House in their debates, what can a good King desire more than the power of approving or rejecting any such bill as cannot pass into a law without the Royal Assent?

12. The Crown will have still all the power in it of doing good to the people, in which the Prerogative of our British Kings will be still unlimited. In short, it neither touches the executive nor the legislative power of the Crown, nor takes away the Prerogative of creating Peers, but only of doing it in such a manner as seems repugnant to reason and justice. The British King will still be the source of Nobility, and hold in himself the principle of Peerage, though it is not to be lavished away on multitudes,

or

or given occasionally to the detriment of the publick.

13. Besides, what does the Crown do more in parting with a branch of its Prerogative, than what the two other parts of the Legislature have frequently done, with regard to their respective bodies, when they have found any of their rights or privileges prejudicial to the Community? All such self-denying acts are of a popular nature, and have been passed with the good-liking and applause of their fellow-subjects. Nay the Crown has never more recommended itself to the affection of the people, than when it has retrenched itself in any exorbitance of Power that did not seem consistent with their liberty; as in passing the bill of Habeas Corpus, and that for establishing Triennial Parliaments.

14. Indeed, were this a point extorted from the Crown in its necessities, it might be generous at such a juncture to appear in the defence of the Prerogative; but this is not our case: we are only disputing whether we shall accept of a voluntary concession made by the Sovereign himself, who out of his unparalleled goodness has shown, by this instance, that he places the true dignity of a British Monarch, where it always ought to be placed, in the liberty of his people.

15. Having

15. Having considered this alteration proposed to be made in our Constitution with relation to the Crown, let us now consider it with regard first to the House of Commons, and in the next place to the whole body of the English commonalty; and if we find that it will prove advantageous in its consequences under both these views, it is undoubtedly an alteration very much to be wished for.

16. The number of Peers is in a few reigns increased from 59 to near 220; and there is no question but that in as few succeeding reigns their present number will be doubled; nor will posterity be able to see an end of them, unless it be timely prevented. Nay, we have all the reason in the world to apprehend that their number will hereafter swell in greater proportions than it has done hitherto. It is a general remark, that since the act has passed for triennial elections, Commoners of great estates are more desirous than ever of gaining a place in the Upper House, which will exempt them from such a constant dependance on their electors, and the frequent returns of trouble and expence in their elections. At least it is natural to suppose that every King will make such additions as will give his friends a majority; nay, if we may conclude from experience, every Minister who differs in his politics

liticks from his predecessor, will bring to his assistance a sufficient number to turn the balance in his favour. And it is obvious to every one how quick is the succession of Ministers in this country.

17. The first good consequence, therefore, of the proposed alteration to the House of Commons will be this, That it will fill that House with men of the largest fortunes, and the greatest abilities; for we may well suppose that such men will set themselves forward to be elected into such a seat, when it is the highest honour they can have immediately in view. By this means, those will be the Representatives of the people, who have the greatest stake among them. Those will have the giving of money in their power, who have the most of it in their possession. But, above all, the influence of the House of Commons, and consequently of all the Commons of England, will preserve itself in its due strength; for, of all maxims, none is more uncontested than that power follows property. But what additional strength would this give the House of Lords, if the richest Members of the House of Commons may be draughted out of it in such numbers as the present frame of our Constitution permits? Nor would the inconvenience be less with respect to men of great parliamentary abilities, if, instead
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of continuing to add weight and authority to the Lower House, they may be called up at any time to employ the same abilities in aggrandizing the figure of another House.

18. And as the proposed alteration will be a proper means to give a figure to the House of Commons, so will it likewise be an expedient to preserve their integrity, as it will take off one method, and indeed the most effectual method, of bribing men of over-grown fortunes. When a Peerage dangles before the eyes of the most wealthy Commoner, it may have charms in it to one, who would have a contempt for any offers of another kind. A man's ambition is as susceptible of bribes as his avarice, and it should be the care of a Legislature to cut off all temptations to corruption in the one as well as the other. It is true, the alteration proposed would not utterly remove the influence of such a motive ; but it would certainly very much weaken it, and render it infinitely more ineffectual than what it is at present.

19. If this method restrains men of the greatest figure of the Lower House from making their way so easily to the Upper, it will evidently tend to the bringing a greater number of places of the highest trust, honour, or profit, into the hands of the most able and wealthy Commoners. Men so accomplished will have a diffusive in-

fluence both in their own house, and in their respective counties; and it will be necessary for all Governments to find out proper rewards and gratifications for such men; and gratifications of this kind no Commoner will envy them, since they enable them to be beneficial to the body of people whom they represent, and do not in their nature deprive us of their strength and assistance in that branch of the Legislature to which we belong.

20. However, the proposed restraint on the number of Peers is far from being an exclusion of such Commoners who are recommended by their fortunes, or their abilities. According to the calculation generally received, there may happen two extinctions or vacancies, taking one year with another, in the body of Peers, as fixed and ascertained by the new scheme, in case it should obtain. And surely the Commons of England will think it sufficient to lose annually two of their most considerable members, whatever may be the opinion of particular persons, who are in haste to leave their company.

21. A restraint upon the number of the Lords will necessarily restrain the influence of that body in the election of Members to serve in the Lower House. It is very well known, that few Members of the House of Commons are advanced to Peerage, who have not one or more
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Corporations under their direction ; nay, that very often this is one reason for their promotion. If, therefore, this perpetually increasing body of Lords continues on the foot it is now, in proportion as their number is augmented, their influence in elections will grow more general, till at length, as the Upper House are the creature of the Crown, the Lower House may be in a great measure the creature of the Lords. And it is worth while to consider whether in process of time, unless seasonably prevented, the House of Commons may not be filled with the stewards and bayliffs of our Peers.

22. In the next place, let us see what would be the consequences from such an alteration upon the whole bulk of the English commonalty, which should always find the first place in the thoughts of their Representatives. If they should gain only this single advantage, I think it is a very considerable one, that it will hinder the nation from being over-run with Lords. We know that, in the sale of an estate, it is no small recommendation to the buyer, that there is no Lord within so many miles of it, and the distance of such a borderer is often looked upon as an equivalent to a year's purchase. But who can be secure from such a neighbour, whilst the species is so apt to increase and multiply? I shall not insist upon paying of debts, which is looked upon

upon as a moral duty, among Commoners, who cannot but be sorry to see any additions to an order of men that are sheltered by privileges from the demands of their honest and industrious creditors. To which many considerations of the like nature may be added, were they not obvious to the private reflection of every reader.

23. But the great point, and which ought to carry the chief weight with us in this case is, that the alteration now proposed will give such a mighty power to the bulk of the English Commons, as can be never counterbalanced by the body of the Nobility. Should we suppose 235 Peers possess, one with another, of 5000*l. per annum*, this would amount to no more than 1,175,000*l. per annum*; and what is such a property, and the power arising out of it, compared with the power arising out of the property of those many millions possess by the Commons? Besides, that the great accessions of wealth yearly made in the body of the Commons would give it continually an increase of property and power, which would accrue to the body of the Nobles, in case their door was always open to men of overflowing fortunes, who might find no great difficulty in procuring an entrance.

24. I shall now offer two fair questions to any man, who impartially weighs these matters.

First, If two schemes of government were proposed to him, in both of which the Legislature should consist of three branches, whether he would prefer that scheme, in which one of the branches might be increased at pleasure by another of them; or that scheme in which every branch should be limited to a certain stated number: Nay, if the two schemes were placed in parallel with one another, and considered in their respective consequences, whether the first would not appear a most wild and indigested project?

In the second place, I would propose this question. If the Lords had been limited to a certain number by our constitution, whether it would not have been thought unpardonable in any one who should have proposed to have taken off that limitation, and left it to the pleasure of the Crown arbitrarily to add to them any number at any time.

Nobody can be at a loss to determine himself in these questions, who considers this subject by those plain lights which are already exhibited in this discourse, and which may be strengthened by many other considerations.

25. This subject naturally engages me in one task more, which is, to examine the objections
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that have been started against this alteration proposed to be made in the Constitution of the House of Peers. And here I cannot discover any inconvenience which can be said to follow from such an alteration, that does not now subsist, or is not answered by some much greater inconvenience in the present state of the Peerage. But, that I may not follow the example of those who have appeared in print on the other side of this debate, in putting weak arguments into the mouth of their antagonists, I shall answer such objections as have been the most approved by those who declare themselves against this bill, as they are laid together in a pamphlet, intituled, THE PLEBEIAN.

26. As for the introduction, the digression upon the Ephori, and the concluding paragraph, they are only arguments *ad conflandam invidiam*, and such as are not to be answered by reason, but by the same angry strain in which they are written, and which would discredit a cause that is able to support itself without such an assistance.

27. "At first sight," says the PLEBEIAN, "this proposal must appear very shocking; it carries with it so great an alteration of the Constitution *." This is the first general objection, and I wish it had been pursued regularly; but because it is dropt and resumed in

* P. 257.

the following part of the discourse, I must be forced to collect those scattered passages on this head, as I find them in different parts of the book. This great objection will be sufficiently answered, if this alteration of the Constitution is from worse to better; which I think has been fully proved. As every thing is formed into perfection by degrees, the wisdom of all Legislatures has embraced every opportunity of making such changes in their government, as have been advantageous to those who live under it. This Author himself gives us an eminent instance of a great alteration of our Constitution in the Lower House, under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, "when the Crown " erected several new Corporations, and relieved " several ancient and decayed ones from sending " any Members at all *." I do not make use of this increase in the number of the Commons, as an argument for an increase of the number of the Lords, which the Author produces as the reasoning of some people who are for the bill. Such people, if any there are, must talk inconsistently with themselves, since it is the purport of the bill to prevent the House of Lords from growing too numerous. But it is an unanswerable argument to shew, that there has been as great an alteration in

one branch of our Legislature, as is now proposed to be made in another; and that such an alteration should be introduced into our form of government, when there are good reasons for it; on which account our Author himself justifies the above-mentioned alteration in the House of Commons. Our Author furnishes us with another very good argument in this particular against himself. "Whiggism," says he, "if I understand it aright, is a desire of Liberty, and a spirit of opposition to all exorbitant Power in any part of the Constitution. Formerly the danger on this account was from the Crown; but since the Habeas Corpus Act, and the many restraints laid upon the Crown in King William's time, and the great and numerous limitations of the Succession Acts, the Prerogative of the Crown is reduced so low, that it is not at all dangerous to the Commons *." As we have the Author's confession in the aforementioned instance of an alteration in the Plebeian, he has here given us an account of as remarkable changes in the Regal branch of our government. The Prerogative was retrenched in those several instances, because without such retrenchment the power of it appeared exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons. If therefore there still inheres in the

* P. 161.

Crown a power that is exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons, there is the same reason why the Commons should lay hold of the present opportunity to retrench it. This is the matter in debate betwixt us ; but, be that as it will, the argument which the Author here makes use of against the bill in question, " that it carries in " it too great an alteration of the Constitution," would have been as good an argument against the Habeas Corpus Act, or any other of those above-mentioned. What is further said upon this subject in p. 271. would make a handsome sentence in a popular speech, but will never stand the test of a strict examination in a discourse address'd to the reasons and not the passions of men. " In short, it has been for our ancient " Constitution," says the Author, " that we " have struggled with so much vigour for many " years together : it is for that we have poured " out a river of English blood, and a treasure " unheard-of in any former age. This Consti- " tution may have its imperfections ; but, faulty " as it is, our ancestors have conveyed down " Liberty to us through that channel : and we " ought to continue it on, as well as we can, to " our posterity, and not give way to the new- " modelling schemes of every extraordinary " genius." This is not arguing, but declaiming. Our Ancestors remedied several imperfections
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from time to time, and we are obliged to them for having conveyed Liberty down to us through the channel which they had so often altered and reformed. And will not our posterity be as thankful to us, if we transmit to them their Liberty through the same channel, when it shall be only altered for the better conveyance of it?

28. Having taken off the force of this main objection, I shall follow others as the Author leads me. He tells us that “the shutting up
“the door of the House of Lords, in the manner
“talked of, cannot but prove a great discouragement to virtuous actions, to learning and
“industry, and very detrimental to the House
“of Peers itself, by preventing such frequent
“supplies from going into it, as the nature of
“such a body requires; for want of which, it
“may in time become corrupt and offensive, like
“a stagnated pool, which hitherto has been
“preserved wholesome and pure by the fresh
“streams that pass continually into it*.” This consideration, if it has any force, cuts down all the other arguments drawn from the new accessions of figure and power, which he supposes would accrue to the House of Lords, by the passing of the bill so much talked of. Can it be detrimental to the House of Lords, and at the same time throw into their hands all the places and

honours that the Crown can confer upon them? Will that body of men, which would become mean and despicable, and offensive as a stagnated pool, by the means of this alteration, be raised by the same means to be the most formidable, and the most honoured part in our Constitution? Or could the same body degenerate into a public nuisance, as our Author represents it, and at the same time be able to over-awe both King and People? Can two such contrary effects be produced from one and the same cause? But could we suppose that this body of men might thus degenerate; would they be able, without numerous recruits of wealth, learning and industry, to oppose any thing for the good of the Community, in contradiction to the King and People? But more of this hereafter.

29. Our Author adds, " I am not unaware it
" will be said, that the frequent extinctions of
" [noble] families will salve this inconvenience,
" and make room for the rewarding of Merit.
" But," says he, " this expedient, I fear, is not
" much to be depended on; for the uncertainty
" of the time when the Crown will have any
" such power will make it much the same as
" if it were never to have it at all;" which is as
much as to say, that unless the Crown has
power of making what number of Lords it
pleases, and at what time it pleases, and to

serve what turn it pleases, it had as good have no power at all of making Peers, which the Author supposes is the only adequate power it has of rewarding merit. Not to ask the Author whether it be generally virtuous actions, learning, or industry, that recommend **Commoners** to the Peerage, or of what other kind the merit is, which has been often thus rewarded; I shall only ask him, whether any man has so crying a merit as immediately requires a Peerage for its reward? or whether the extinction of two titles in a year will not leave room enough for the Crown to reward those extraordinary persons, whose merits give them such a demand upon it? As for another argument which the Author puts into the mouth of those whom he calls patrons of the Bill proposed, "that it will ease the Crown of importunities *," as I think it has no great weight in it, I am not concerned to urge any thing in its defence against the **PLEBEIAN's** answer to it.

30. We come now to the most considerable paragraph of the whole book, which I shall therefore transcribe at length. "But another consequence, of a much higher nature, attending the limitation of the number of Peers, is the danger there will be of changing the Constitution by this means into an Aristocracy. And this may at any time in such case be

* P. 259.

“ effected by the confederacy of two or three
 “ great families, which would form such a body
 “ in the House of Lords, as the Crown would
 “ not be able to controul. That this kind of
 “ government is one of the worst sorts of sla-
 “ very, is too well known to be disputed. In a
 “ Democracy, a great many different persons
 “ may come to have a share of power by several
 “ incidents, but in the other case it is birth only
 “ that intitles to superiority: And the milk such
 “ Nobles are nursed up with is hatred and con-
 “ tempt for every human creature but those of
 “ their own imaginary dignity *.” The question
 to be stated here is, Whether the House of Lords
 under their present Constitution is not as likely
 to run into an Aristocracy, as it would be in case
 their number should be limited. It appears
 very plain to me, that a body of Peers perpetu-
 ally increasing, and capable of additions, has in
 it a natural tendency to an Aristocracy. Sup-
 posing that the House of Lords from 60 members
 is now swelled to 200: These, if increased by
 the same proportion, would in the same number
 of years amount to 666 to which we may pre-
 sume there would be still the like proportionable
 additions. By this means they would in time
 receive such vast accessions of property, as might
 encourage them not only to entertain so am-

* P. 26c.

bitious a design, but in a great measure to render it effectual ; especially when any men could be admitted into their own order, with their great abilities in Parliament, or their great influence among the people, who might be most capable of opposing their incroachments upon the Commons. I do allow that such additions would be prejudicial to the Crown ; but this is no reason why they would not be made, as it has not prevented the additions that have been made in our own memory. For though the Crown in general would be a sufferer by this method ; yet it would naturally have recourse to it, as it has formerly, when it labours under any present exigency, that can only be removed by such an expedient. This danger of an Aristocracy, every one must confess, would be very much abated, and, I think, utterly removed, by the limitation of the Lords to such a number as is now proposed. In such a case, their property would be so very inconsiderable, when compared with that of the Commons (as I have before shewed to a demonstration) that it would render such a design in them the most chimerical, and the most impracticable. And since it is impossible that the whole body of Lords in their united strength could be able to establish themselves into an Aristocracy, the Author's imagination vanishes, that “ this may at any time, in
“ such

“ such a case, be effected by the confederacy of
 “ two or three great families, which would form
 “ such a body among the Lords as the Crown
 “ would not be able to controul *.” If the
 Author means in this place, by the Crown not
 being able to controul the Lords, that it would
 be restrained from pouring in such a number as
 would always sway them to its inclinations, it is
 what ought to be wished for. If he means that
 this want of power in the Crown would enable
 them to erect an Aristocracy, it is certainly a
 wrong consequence, because not only the Crown,
 but the people would have a superior Power in
 them to the body of Nobles, and are equally
 concerned to preserve their stations in the go-
 vernment. The Author after this brings an
 argument to prove, that an Aristocracy is a bad
 form of government, and that a Democracy is
 preferable to it, in which I entirely agree with
 him ; but must add, that a mixt government
 made out of Aristocracy, Democracy, and Mo-
 narchy, is better than either of them. The
 Author subjoins, that “ the milk which Nobles
 “ are nursed up with is hatred and contempt
 “ of every humane creature, but those of their
 “ own imaginary dignity †.” If so, the fewer
 of them the better. What Commoner would
 not desire to put a stop to the increase of them ?

* P. 26c.

† Ibid.

31. The next objection I meet with is from the great privileges the Lords are already possessed of, with relation to actions *de Scandalis Magnatum* *, &c. which is likewise a very good reason why we should hinder the increase of persons invested with these privileges; and as for the judicial power, with that of imprisoning, they are such as subsist in their body as it is now constituted, and therefore cannot be objected to the proposed alteration, which would only leave them as they are.

32. "The increasing the number of Peers," says the Author, "is always to be wished for by the Commons †." We have seen sufficient reasons why it should not. "Because the greater their number, the less considerable they become;" the contrary of which has been evidently proved; "and the less within the influence of Court favours." What! when by this very power of increasing them at will, it can secure any point among them that it pleases? "By which means alone Ministers are kept in awe, and remain in a situation of being called to account for their actions. Were it otherwise, they would be out of the reach of any accusation. They would know exactly by whom they were to be tried, and their judges might be their accomplices. And

* P. 261.

† P. 262.

“should this once come to be the case, what “might they not attempt with impunity?” Is this inconvenience better prevented in a House of Peers on the bottom it now stands? Can any who has been a good Minister be secure, if the Crown should add a sufficient number of his enemies to those who sit in judgement upon him? Or is a bad Minister in any danger, when he may be sheltered by the addition of a sufficient number of his friends?

33. I must not pass over another remarkable paragraph of the Author upon the same argument for increasing the Lords at pleasure. “The “great advantage,” says he, “that the number “of their body cannot be increased, is at present “the most valuable privilege of the House of “Commons, and the only thing that makes “them considerable *.” This is indeed a very poor advantage, to found upon it the grandeur of a House of Commons. Is not the power of giving money and raising taxes confined to that body, and which can never fail to give them the greatest weight in the Legislature? Will not this be always the most valuable privilege of the Commons? and what other privilege can make them more considerable? He goes on, “The “Lords are possessed of many great privileges “that they will not permit the Commons to

* P. 264.

“ share with them ; and therefore the Commons
 “ would be highly wanting to themselves, if
 “ they should add this advantage likewise to the
 “ Lords, which is the only one that they can
 “ enjoy distinct from them.” Our Author, as
 it may turn to his account, sometimes considers
 the Lords in their personal Privileges as they
 are individuals, and sometimes as they are a
 body of men in the Legislature. If he here
 means their Privileges in the former view, I do
 allow they are very great ones, and therefore
 certainly every Commoner cannot desire an in-
 crease of such individuals. But if he here means
 their Privileges as a Legislative Body, it is cer-
 tain that all their Privileges together are not
 equal to that One, of commanding the purse
 of the Community. So that it is wonderful
 how he could advance, that the number of the
 House of Commons not being subject to an in-
 crease, “ is the only advantage that they enjoy
 “ distinct from the House of Lords.”

34. Our Author next proceeds to speak of
 the proportion of Property between the two
 Houses of Lords and Commons, which is a point
 already so fully discussed, that I shall not trouble
 the Reader with any repetitions ; but cannot omit
 what the Author asserts as an indisputable point,
 and which in itself is the greatest paradox I
 ever heard advanced. His words are, “ Indeed,
 “ if

“ if a restraining bill should pass, I do not doubt
 “ but it would be soon followed with a bill to
 “ prevent Lords from alienating their estates, for
 “ which many plausible reasons are to be pro-
 “ duced ; and then, without all dispute, the
 “ balance of property will be soon turned on
 “ the side of their Lordships *.” Which is as
 much as to say, in plain English, that the Lords
 will have as much wealth amongst them as the
 whole body of the British Commons, or that
 one million will be a balance against a hundred
 millions. Indeed the House of Lords in their
 present Constitution may be always approaching
 to a balance in property with the Commons,
 from whence they are continually receiving into
 their body such large supplies ; but if their
 number be once limited, you cut off their re-
 cruits, and lay them under an impossibility of
 ever rivaling the other branch of the Legi-
 slature in this particular.

35. Our Author’s argument, that a new
 Power would arise to the House of Lords from
 the alteration so much talked of, is founded upon
 a fact which every one denies at first sight. His
 words are these : “ For as to what is commonly
 “ said, that the Lords would get nothing, no
 “ new power would be added to them by this
 “ means ; I beg leave to state this matter in a

* P. 265.

“ proper

“ proper light. Suppose the balance to be now
 “ *even* betwixt the Lords and the Crown, as it
 “ certainly is, or else the Constitution would not
 “ subsist in quiet : Is it not plain to the most
 “ common capacity, that when two scales are
 “ upon an equal poise, if you take any weight
 “ out of one of them, you give the advantage
 “ to the other without putting any thing into
 “ it * ?” The Author here supposes that the
 balance between these two parts of the Legi-
 slature *should* be even ; and so far I concur with
 him, that being the chief end which this alter-
 ration has in view. But I can by no means sup-
 pose with him that they *are* even, because it is
 contrary to matter of fact. For we plainly see
 that the Sovereign has it always in his power to
 make what division of party or opinion he pleases
 prevail in that House. As for the reason of their
 present supposed equality, “ that otherwise they
 “ could not subsist in quiet,” it has no force in
 it, because we see very ill-constituted govern-
 ments will subsist in quiet for many ages, not
 that they are preserved by a rightly tempered
 Constitution, which would give them the greatest
 strength, but by other accidental causes. The
 ill consequences of such an inequality may be
 frequently felt and complained of, though they
 may not shake the tranquillity of the publick.

* P. 166.

36. I have now gone through every thing that carries the face of an argument for the Constitution of the House of Lords, as it now stands; or of an objection against the alteration proposed to be made; having only avoided saying any thing in this case as it affects the Scottish Nobility, because I have here considered it only as an English Commoner, and because I have thoughts of prosecuting the subject, as it relates to Scotland, in another pamphlet, being unwilling to swell this to a greater bulk.

37. Since the writing of the foregoing Discourse, I have perused a pamphlet, intituled, "The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House," &c.* in which the Author first approves our Constitution as divided into its Three branches, and through the whole course of his Book contends in effect, that it should consist of no more than Two; for he supposes the House of Lords instituted only as guardians and ornaments to the Throne, and to be augmented by the Crown in such a proportion, as may strengthen it in opposition to the House of Commons. The Reader may see his scheme in the following words: "There is not," says this Writer, "a more certain maxim in politicks, than that a Monarchy must subsist by an Army, or Nobility. The first makes it despotic, and the

* By Mr. Aſgil. See p. 274.

"latter

“ latter a free government. I presume none of
 “ those nobler personages themselves, who have
 “ the honour to make up that illustrious body,
 “ do believe they are so distinguished and ad-
 “ vanced above their fellow-subjects for their
 “ own sakes: They know they are intended the
 “ Guardians, as well as Ornaments of the Mo-
 “ narchy, an essential prerogative of which it
 “ must be to add to and augment their number
 “ in such proportion, as to render them a proper
 “ balance against the Democratical part of our
 “ Constitution, without being formidable to the
 “ Monarchy itself, the support of which is the
 “ reason of their institution *.” This is a most
 extraordinary notion of government, that one
 branch of a Legislature should be instituted,
 only to be subservient to the strength and sup-
 port of another, but it is on this bottom that
 he founds his whole discourse; and as for his
 objections to the proposed alteration, I find they
 are such as I have already obviated in the course
 of this pamphlet. If any thing remains in them
 unanswered, it will fall under the last objection
 against the matter in debate, which I should not
 take notice of, did not I find that it makes an
 impression upon some people’s minds.

38. Suppose, says the objection, there should
 be an inflexible obstinacy in a House of Peers,

* P. 9.

what method would there be left to bring them to a concurrence with the two other branches of the Legislature, when it will not be in the power of the King to bring them over to reason, by flinging in sufficient numbers among them? To this I answer, That if the Lords are obstinate in a point that is *Reasonable* and *Beneficial* to the Community, it will be happy for their country that they should be invested with the proper power of a Legislative branch, not to be overruled to wrong measures. This may sometimes be of great advantage to the publick, if we can possibly suppose that the two other branches may concur in any thing that is not consistent with justice, or the national interest. If the Peers are thus inflexibly obstinate in any methods that are *Dishonourable*, *Unjust*, or *Pernicious* to their country; can we imagine they could not be influenced into a compliance by the authority of the two sharing branches in the Legislature? Or can we think they would persist in measures which would draw upon them the displeasure of the Crown, and the resentments of the whole Commons of Great Britain? Every body of men takes as much care as possible to preserve their credit, and to render themselves popular; and we cannot think that any branch of a Legislature would be made up of madmen, or pursue such measures as must necessarily end

in their infamy, or their destruction ; especially when they are infinitely weaker than either of the other constituent parts of our Legislature. Could any person apprehend such a behaviour from them, I am sure the same person cannot in his heart apprehend their growing up into an Aristocracy. The Peers are so little a match for the Crown in power, or the Commons in property, much less able to cope with the united force of both ; that it is wildness to suppose them guilty of such an unjust and unreasonable obstinacy, as they know might endanger their very being in the British Constitution. And now I shall only propose it to every one's thoughts, whether an expedient, which will remedy the greatest inconvenience that may arise to us, from one of the branches of the Legislature, and of which we have had experience, as has been already sufficiently explained, should prevail with us to lay it aside, out of a groundless fear, that it should expose us to an inconvenience from another branch of the Legislature, which must suppose them destitute of common sense, void of honour and equity, and regardless of self-preservation, before it can possibly befall us. To this I shall only add, that whatever objections are made against this alteration in the Constitution, may be made against every form of government, in which the Legi-

flature consists of three distinct branches, and that is, against such a form as has been pronounced the most perfect by those who have been the most skilful politicians, and the most famous for their observations on the nature of government.

*** A Letter in the "Weekly Medley," March 28, 1719, pays some merited compliments to an ingenious Artisan, Mr. Price, of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, "for restoring the antient beautiful art of Staining and Painting Glass to perfection; an art now so long lost, its loss so lamented, and its re-invention so much coveted. Too luminous a Church is too gay for the business that is done there; it shews in too clear a point of sight, too many objects for distraction; but that which pervades and penetrates the coloured glass, strikes one with a Religious awe, a spirit of recollection and meditation, and has in it, something I do not know what of solemn and sacred. Besides, it draws frequently the eye off from the book of Prayer in a Church; and then, while the eye is looking through the window towards the Heavens, the passages represented on the glass, being taken out of Holy Writ, lift and elevate the mind, as they do the eye, to Heaven. A better pattern of this old art (and that is great to say) is not to be found in any old Church, than is now to be seen in the East window of St. Andrew's, Holbourn, where the Passion of our Saviour, whose Divinity some would be permitted to deny, and yet to enter that Church, is represented in a lively manner. And the red part of the colour is so beautifully strong, that it would cast a blush upon any guilty wretch, that standing opposite to it should say, that the Saviour, whose Passion it represents, had not the Divinity joined with the Humanity."

††† "At the Blue Leg in Bow-Lane, near Watling-street, are sold LOTTERY TICKETS and SHARES, Whole Tickets at the same price as upon the Exchange; and, for the conveniency of such as cannot purchase whole tickets, or would extend their chances to a larger latitude, they may have half tickets, quarter tickets, fifth parts, tenth parts, or twentieth parts of tickets; a person for 4s. may have the 20th part of one ticket, for 8s. a share in two tickets, for 20s. a share of five tickets, for 40s. a share of ten Tickets, for 4l. a share of 20 tickets, for 10l. a share of 50 Tickets, for 20l. a share of 100 Tickets, all several numbers; and in the same proportion to any other number. There are but 5 blanks to one prize; the lowest is 10l. and the highest 20,000l. There are but a small number left, therefore those who intend to have any must be expeditious."

T H E

T H E P L E B E I A N.

Nº II. MONDAY, MARCH 23, 1718-19.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS RELATING
TO THE PEERAGE, CONTINUED;

A N D

REMARKS UPON THE PAMPHLETS THAT HAVE
BEEN WRIT FOR THE SUPPOSED BILL.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

“ Quis enim jam non intelligat Artes
“ Patricias ?” * * * * * Juv. Sat. iv. 101.

Who sees not now through the Lords thin disguise?
DRYDEN.

THOSE who are not particularly acquainted with the vocation of Pamphlet-writing, have very much wondered that a matter of so great consequence, as the affair of the PEERAGE, and espoused by such persons as are very well known to be its patrons, could have been so long a while upon the stage, and no champion appear for it: but others, who are more versed in this kind of business, know, there could not be wanting persons enough to make their court, by producing their lucubrations on

this head. But as it is a subject that will not very well bear debating, their masters, without doubt, were of opinion, that the best way was, to let all manner of writing alone, and keep all that could be said on the subject for the time and place where it was absolutely necessary to say something.

The agitators for the bill assured themselves, that nobody would be so bold as to attack first; and consequently judged themselves out of all danger. But the PLEBEIAN starting forth unexpectedly, they were forced, like people in a surprize, or on an invasion, to march immediately any troops they had; and indeed these are some of the most tattered I ever saw.

The first Champion that appeared for this bill, was a person who exhibited himself in the St. James's-Poll, of Wednesday, March 18, in this advertisement: "Some Considerations relating to the Peerage of Great Britain. Wherein the arguments for the reasonableness and expediency of a bill, said to be depending, are stated *Pro* and *Con*."

This performance I have not been able to venture upon; for He that can state arguments for the bill, both *Pro* and *Con*, is too slippery a person for any body to lay hold of.

The next that entered the lists, on the same side of the question, having been more fortunate

nate than to *discover himself beforehand*, I have perused his labours. The account he gives of himself, is, “ That he is a Member of the House of Commons, who has a friend with whom he uses to talk over in *private* all arguments and considerations which concern any thing of moment, as far as they could collect and remember them : and they having both agreed that this was a matter of a very extraordinary nature, the one entreated the other to put his thoughts about it in writing, that he might be better able to judge of them all together. And in order to continue the privacy of this correspondence, those thoughts came out, printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane.”

This notable introduction was very near having the same effect upon me, as to this pamphlet, as the advertisement just mentioned had to the former; but with much ado I went through the performance. All I can learn from it is, That this Gentleman was present at the debates of the House of Lords; where he does not seem to have been mightily enlightened as to the true state of the case, the debate having in all probability run pretty much one way *.

The next that follows these two combatants for this bill, is somebody or other that is used

* P. 8.

to masquerading, as I suppose; and indeed he is so well disguised, that it is impossible to know him. When I first read the title, *The Old Whig*, I expected no less than the utmost wrath and indignation against the House of Lords. I could not help thinking but he would have been for *Voting them useless* at least, as his ancestors did formerly: but I was extremely surprized to find just the contrary; that he is for giving them such a power, as would make the *House of Commons useless*; and therefore he might as well have taken any other title in the world, as *The Old Whig*. I am afraid he is so *old a Whig*, that he has quite *forgot his Principles*.

But I shall shew now more plainly, what is said in the former PLEBEIAN, that this is neither a *Whig* nor a *Tory* point, but is a jumble, a hodge-podge, a confusion of all parties and all persons together; and must inevitably in its consequences destroy first *Whig* and *Tory*, and afterwards *Crown* and *People*. As all sorts of people unite for it, so ought all sorts, and of every denomination, that have any value for their Constitution, to unite against it.

This Pamphlet, by the marks it appears with, being in all probability the best performance that is to come from that quarter, the PLEBEIAN will consider it thoroughly; and in order to proceed

ceed more methodically, for this Author's satisfaction,

First, I will answer the objections made to the last PLEBEIAN.

Secondly, I will consider the argument, as the *Old Whig* states it himself.

The first objection the Author of the Remarks makes to the PLEBEIAN, is page 289. where he says, "That the *Introduction*, the *Digression* upon the *Ephori*, and the *Conclusion*, are all arguments *ad constandam invidiam*." He who says that arguments drawn from History, which can only shew what has happened in former times, are arguments *ad constandam invidiam*, gives up the matter in dispute, and lets the world know, by passing them so slightly over, that he feels their force: for it is a tacit admission, that in all probability the like disasters will happen from the alterations now projected in our Constitution; which, history informs us, were the real consequences of alterations of the like nature in other countries; otherwise those arguments could not now contribute to make persons invidious. Besides, I always thought that bringing examples from history was looked upon as the most impartial and unexceptionable method of arguing, as it is abstracted from the passions and interests of the present times: for what is Learning and History, if it be not to draw inferences

ferences of what may happen, from what has happened?

As to the digression upon the *Ephori*, the PLEBEIAN was very careful to avoid giving offence. Amongst the many extraordinary Powers exercised by those magistrates, there was one of a very uncommon nature; which was, that as they took upon themselves the sole inspection of the youth, they were particularly curious of the persons of the *Boys*. They employed every tenth day in examining the youths of about fifteen, stark-naked, *Oportebat Ephebos decimo quoque die Ephoris se sistere sine veste*, *Ubbö Emmius*, de Rep. Lac. p. 235. with whom *Crag*s agrees almost in the same words, in the Treatise mentioned in the former PLEBEIAN, p. 266. What an ill use was made of this power, we may see in *Emmius*, p. 236, where speaking of the manner how the *Ephori* lived with those young men they liked best, he says, *lis* (*Ephebis*) *assidue fere adhærebant*. Which words, for fear of offending the PLEBEIAN Ladies, I am not at liberty to translate. However, it is very plain all this was omitted to avoid the least appearance of personal reflection.

The first argument of the PLEBEIAN, which the *Old Whig* objects to, is, p. 290. “ That though
“ the PLEBEIAN declares agianst the proposed
“ bill, because it will make so great an alteration

“ in

“ in our Constitution, yet he produces an eminent instance of a great alteration of our Constitution in the Lower House under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the Crown erected several new Corporations, and relieved several ancient decayed ones from sending any Members at all.”

This, the Remarker says, was as great an alteration in one branch of our Legislature, as is now proposed to be made in another. The Remarker quite mistakes this point; for, instead of being an alteration of so great consequence to the Constitution of the Commons, as this new proposal is of that of the Lords, it was an alteration of no consequence at all. Suppose the towns of Watchet and Dunster, two sea ports in Somersetshire, to have been destroyed in the wars with Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's time. The inhabitants, on account of poverty, apply to the Crown to be exempted from the charge of paying four Members to represent them in Parliament. The Crown some time after grants Charters to two neighbouring towns in flourishing circumstances, and directs the writs at a following summons of a Parliament to be sent to Tiverton and Honiton, instead of Watchet and Dunster. Let any body judge if this alteration can be of any consequence to the House of Commons. Here is nothing else but the places changed;

changed ; and four Members from Tiverton and Honiton are the same thing as four from Watchet and Dunster. But to state this matter with nicety would require much more labour and time than I am able to allow it.

Another argument, which the Remarker says the PLEBEIAN furnishes against himself, is, “ That he owns the Prerogative has been re-
“ trenched in several instances ; because without
“ such retrenchment the Power of it appeared
“ exorbitant and dangerous to the Commons.” But these retrenchments being now made, the question at present is, Whether the Commons ought to go on stripping the Crown of every jewel, till it becomes less resplendent than a Doge of Venice’s coronet, or less comfortable than the Sword-bearer’s Cap of Maintenance ; and, what is of the greatest moment to the Commons, less able to protect them against the Power of a House of Lords, if ever their Lordships should be disposed to claim a larger share of authority than belongs to them ?

As to the complaint the Remarker makes, That the PLEBEIAN *applies to mens Passions, and not their Reasons ; and declaims instead of arguing ;* what must be said in answer to this is, That people must make use of what arm they have. On the one side, it is evident there can be nothing but arguing and reasoning, and declaiming and *ex-emplifying* ; but, on the other, the PLEBEIAN

s afraid there are more irresistible arts of applying to the *Passions*, rather than to the *Reasons* of men, or else he would not have one minute's pain for the issue of this question.

The manner in which the *Remarker* states the PLEBEIAN's argument, relating to the *shutting up the door of the House of Lords*, shews he either wilfully or ignorantly mistakes that part of the Controversy: "For, after having cited the words " of the PLEBEIAN, he asks, if it can be detrimental to the House of Lords, and at the same " time throw into their hands all the places and " honours that the Crown can confer upon them? " Will that body of men, which would become " mean and despicable, and offensive as a stagnated pool, by the means of this alteration, " be raised by the same means to be the most " formidable and most honoured part of the " Constitution? Or would they be able, without numerous recruits of wealth, learning, and " industry, to oppose any thing for the good of " the Community?" To this I answer, It will not be detrimental to them in point of Power, but will be detrimental on account of those talents that ought to accompany Power; the want of which the Commons will feel in their *Judicature*, and in many more particulars. They will be *offensive* to others, but not perceive it themselves; they will be *formidable*, but not *honoured*.

“ Lords will run the Constitution into an Aristocracy ;” this matter shall be fully considered presently, when I come to examine the *Old Whig’s* state of the case.

In a following paragraph, where the *Remarker* takes notice of what the PLEBEIAN urges on the side of the King and Commons, *viz.* “ That an ill Minister might be screened against them both, if this Law should take place, by reason that in such case he would know exactly his judges (who might likewise be his accomplices), and so act with impunity ; the *Remarker* argues, That if this bill does not pass, an innocent Minister cannot be secure, nor a guilty one punished, if the Crown should add to the House of Peers a sufficient number of the enemies of the one, or of the friends of the other.” In either of which cases the utmost iniquity must be supposed in the Crown, which, I confess, I cannot bring myself to do, and therefore my argument remains entire. And it would grieve me to the heart, if I could think there were any *innocent Ministers*, who ought to be emboldened by the consciousness of their integrity, and yet should have greater apprehensions from honest actions, than have been hitherto shown by men of the most guilty consciences, through the many ages that this Constitution

situation has subsisted, without the alteration now desired.

The *Remarker* thinks it wonderful how the PLEBEIAN could advance, "That the number of the House of Commons not being subject to an increase, is the only advantage that they enjoy distinct from the House of Lords;" and alleges, that *all their Lordships Privileges together are not equal to that one of commanding the purse of the community.* Were it true, that the Commons enjoyed this privilege of *commanding the purse of the Community*, distinct from the House of Lords, they would be very easy as to the increasing, or diminishing, or fixing their number; or as to any thing else that might belong to that Noble Assembly. But, alas! this is not the case; for their Lordship's concurrence is as necessary to a money-bill, as to any other bill: nay, whether a money-bill may not originally take its rise in their House, is a point never yet clearly given up by their Lordships, if I am not very much misinformed; and whether they may not be more inclinable to dispute this matter, if ever their door comes to be shut in the manner now proposed, may deserve very serious reflection.

Thus having answered every objection made to the former PLEBEIAN by the *Old Whig*, except such as will occur in considering this ar-

gument, as he states it himself ; I shall now proceed to that point which I proposed at first setting out.

I agree with our Author, " That the best kind of Government is that which is composed of these three branches, the *Regal*, the *Noble*, and the *Plebeian*." This is at present our happy Constitution : " But then," says this Author, " we have one imperfection or defect in it, which wants to be remedied ; and that is, the Crown has too great a power over one branch of this Constitution, namely, the *Noble* ; in that the Crown can, whenever it pleases, add so many to their number as to influence their actions." And this Author likewise assures us, p. 4. " That the Crown has power enough also to gain a House of Commons of what complexion it pleases." From whence I observe, first, That if it be a fault in the Constitution, that the Crown has so great power over one branch of the Constitution, the *Noble*, as this Author affirms, it is as great an imperfection that the Crown has so great a Power, as he also affirms it has, over the PLEBEIAN. And therefore this Author should have proposed some method to have remedied this defect in the latter, as well as in the former branch ; or else that perfection in the Constitution, he seems to be desirous of, cannot be arrived at. He con-

tends, that it is absolutely necessary the *Lords should be entirely independent of the Crown*. An impartial friend to the *whole body of the people*, and to sound reason, would have said as much for the Commons. Then these two Estates would have been upon a level. But even by such an alteration, which is the only equal one, our Constitution would not be mended, but made much worse; for if both Lords and Commons were as independent of the Crown as this Author desires the Lords may be, the unhappy consequence that must ensue would be, that if any discord should arise betwixt them, and each remain inflexibly resolved, here the Constitution would certainly want a casting power; and the only way of ending the dispute must be like a *Polish Dyet, by getting up on horseback*. And therefore this Power now in the Crown, and which has been in it for so many ages, is necessary for the good of the whole Community, to prevent the greatest confusion, which might otherwise arise from the passions of men.

The Crown once parted with this Power out of its hands to the Commons; and that concession produced the ruin of the Monarchy, and of the Peerage. If the Crown should part with the Power now to the Lords, that it has over them, why may it not be very reasonably appre-

hended, that the same fatal consequence may ensue to the King and the Commons?

If it be necessary, as it has been plainly shewn, that the Power now in the Crown should remain there, for the good of the people in general; it is as necessary for the defence and advantage of the Crown itself. The Lords (by the Power the Crown has of adding to their number) are a fluctuating uncertain body. This is all that gives the Crown any influence over them, and prevents combinations, cabals, and factions against the Crown. But if the door comes once to be shut, so that the Crown cannot make any considerable addition to their number in any exigencies whatever, what a door is opened at the same time to form a Power superior to that of the Crown, and superior to all human controul! Then they will become a fixed certain body: and should three or four ambitious bold men combine together hereafter, of the greatest families, and the greatest estates, where would the difficulty be of getting a majority of two hundred thirty-five? and, if once obtained, what remedy could be provided in so desperate a case? Whilst they act in the common methods of government, they would command all *favours*; and, should they ever act in an *arbitrary* manner, necessity and self-defence would make the union amongst them the stronger.

I will

I will now examine what the Author of the *Old Whig* calls the *Great Point*, and which ought to carry the chief weight with us in this case; which is, “ That the Alteration now proposed “ will give such a mighty Power to the bulk “ of the *English* Commons, as can never be “ counterbalanced by the body of the Nobility. “ Should we suppose two hundred thirty-five “ Peers possessed one with another of 5000*l.* *per* “ *annum*, this would amount to no more than “ 1,175,000*l.* *per annum*. And what is such a “ property, and the Power arising out of it, “ compared with the Power arising out of the “ property of those many millions possessed by “ the Commons ?”

By this state of the case, we are to suppose on the one hand a certain, limited, fixed, hereditary body, of two hundred thirty-five Peers, enjoying great privileges above the Commons, and possessed of an annual revenue amounting to 1,175,000*l.* which they have entirely in their own power; and this estate not so equally divided as 5000*l.* *per ann.* to every individual, but to some the command of 50,000*l.* a year apiece, others not 500*l.* a year. On the other hand, you must suppose a body of above twice the number fluctuating, unfixed, in the power of their Prince every moment, at furthest not able to subsist above a few years, and possessed of

not near half the estate before-mentioned ; is it not too evident which of these two bodies must destroy the other, if once this should come to be really the case ? The Lords are Principals, and act entirely for themselves : the Commoners are no farther Principals than as to the estates they possess themselves. As our Author has stated this matter, in order to magnify the power of the wealth of the Commons, though he is all along speaking of the aggregate body, yet he would insinuate as if they had as great command over the universal Body of the People, as the Lords have over themselves. This is as much as to say, that the four Members of the city of London have as absolute command over the estates of all the inhabitants of that great *Metropolis*, as any four Lords have over their tenants. Indeed, if the Commons had a Power of laying taxes upon the estates of all those they represent, that would be the same thing in this case, provided they had it abstractedly from the Lords. But this fallacy, which is often insinuated in this Pamphlet, has been already detected. The Commons have no more power over their fellow-subjects estates than the Lords : they cannot lay any tax without their Lordships concurrence. And all that is peculiar to the Commons in this matter is, that they have hitherto been allowed to chuse what tax they judged easiest

case for the people: but every day's experience shews us, that, if the Lords differ in opinion from the Commons, their power is at an end. The better to illustrate this *Great Point*, as our Author properly calls it; as he has computed the value of the wealth of the body of Peers, I will take the liberty to compute the value of the wealth of the body of the Commons. Supposing them to be worth, one with another, 800l. *per ann.* including personal estates, which I am certain is not disparaging this, or any other House of Commons that has sat in a British Parliament; the annual income of five hundred fifty-eight Commoners will amount to 446,400l; which is so insignificant a sum, in proportion to the value of the property of the Lords, that I will beg leave to compute his Majesty's whole Civil List with the property of the Commons, both sums together making but one million forty-six thousand four hundred pounds; and there will still remain a balance on their Lordships' side of one hundred twenty-eight thousand six hundred pounds *per annum*. *Therefore, if it is an uncontested maxim, That Power follows property*, p. 28; here is Power, here is Property; and let the body that possesses both in such a degree be but once made so independent as is proposed, would not the Crown, would not the Commons, be absolutely under the Do-

minion of the Lords, according to this Author's own way of reasoning?

I am satisfied the controversy is ended here: but I will suppose my Author not to have been mistaken so very grossly, and examine his argument upon an imagination that the property of the House of Commons was ten times superior to that of Lords, whereas the property of the Lords is near three times as much as theirs; yet, even in this case, the Lords would have the advantage of them; because an united constant body of men, always acting for the same interest and grandeur, and pursuing a continued scheme, must be an over-match for so transitory a body, and made up of persons of such different views and interests as the House of Commons is. To bring an example on this head. Let us imagine the stock of the Bank of England to be of the value of one million, and the stock or cash of all the Bankers, Scriveners, Goldsmiths, and dealers in Money throughout London, to be four times or eight times that sum; is there any body who does not believe the Bank, incorporated and well compacted in all respects for its own private interest, will not have a greater Power, greater credit and authority, than all those particular Proprietors of a much larger capital, who cannot possibly be ever put into any posture, so as to act with that weight for their interest,

interest, as the Bank will do for itself in the circumstances above-mentioned' The great Power of all such fixed bodies is chiefly owing to this circumstance, that two or three persons always govern the rest; and it is as well the common interest of the society that they should be so governed, as the particular interest of the governors. In this their strength chiefly consists; and for this reason five or six hundred Lords (if any body can be so wild as to suppose the Crown will every increase their number to such a degree) will not be so terrible to the Crown or the People, as two hundred thirty-five, or any such fixed number. For to suppose that the majority of two hundred thirty-five Lords, were they so fixed, would not be entirely directed and influenced by three or four amongst them of the greatest wealth, abilities, and resolution, is as absurd and improbable to common reason and constant experience, as any thing that can be thought of.

If it be allowed then, as it certainly must be, that the weight of so great Power, and of such disproportionable Property, may by this means come into a very few hands; what havock may it not make of the dignity of the Crown, and of the liberty of the People?

Thus I have shewn the certain destructive consequences of this project, as stated by the

PLEBEIAN,

PLEBEIAN, and even as stated by the OLD WHIG himself. I must confess, I do not believe that the Authors of this scheme were apprehensive how far it would go; but since it is now so plain, that *he who runs may read*, I hope they themselves will desist from so desperate an undertaking.

I cannot help observing, that his Majesty is treated with great indignity by the Author before me, in several passages of his pamphlet. In one place he says, "Whilst the door of the House of Lords is always open, people of overflowing fortunes may find no great difficulty in procuring an entrance." In another, he insinuates, that "there is another kind of merit besides what arises from virtuous actions, learning, and industry, that has been often rewarded with Peerage." I am satisfied his Majesty has used this prerogative, as he has done every other prerogative of the Crown, with the greatest discernment, and therefore I am willing to trust it still in his hands. The House of Lords is treated by this Author still more *en cavalier* than his Majesty. His words are these: "If the English Commonalty should (by this Bill) gain only this single advantage, I think it a very considerable one, that it will hinder the nation from being over-run with Lords. We know, that in the sale of an estate it is no
" small

“small recommendation to the buyer, that there
 “is no Lord within so many miles of it; and
 “the distance of such a borderer is often looked
 “upon as an equivalent to a year’s purchase.
 “But who can be secure from such a neighbour,
 “whilst the species is so apt to increase and
 “multiply? I shall not insist upon paying of
 “debts, which is looked upon as a moral duty
 “amongst Commoners, who cannot but be
 “sorry to see any additions to an order of men
 “that are sheltered by privileges from the de-
 “mands of their honest and industrious cre-
 “ditors. To which many considerations of the
 “like nature might be added, were they not
 “obvious to the private reflection of every
 “reader *.”

I cannot very well account for it, how this
 Author comes to take so great a liberty as he
 has done here; even so far, as to endeavour to
 make it believed, that the Lords are sheltered
 from their just debts; whereas every one knows,
 a Lord’s goods and effects are liable to the pur-
 suit of his creditors, though his person is always
 protected. This Author and I differ on every
 account, as to what relates to this branch of the
 Legislature. They seem to me to have been
 for many years. and to be at present, a just and
 honourable body. This, I think, is owing to
 the frame of that body, and the situation it

is in. I am against altering either, lest they should become tyrannical and odious. The OLD WHIG represents them to be at present a species of such a nature as I dare not venture to repeat, but must refer to his own words; and yet contends to vest them with much greater Powers than they now have.

I have but one remark more to make upon this Author, which is indeed in a matter of the last consequence, and which cannot be thoroughly considered till the next Paper. The Author of the OLD WHIG has very truly stated the Power of the Crown, as it relates to the Legislature, in these words :

“ The Crown, as a branch of the Legislature,
 “ cannot desire a greater prerogative, than that
 “ of a negative in the passing of a law : and as
 “ it ought not to influence either House in their
 “ debates, what can a good King desire more,
 “ than the power of approving or rejecting any
 “ such bill as cannot pass into a law without
 “ the Royal Assent * ?”

As I readily admit of all that is here advanced, That the Regal part of the Legislature is to wait for the advice of its Great Council, both Houses of Parliament, and to give its negative to what it does not approve; that doing otherwise would be influencing the debates of one or both Houses, and turning the Consti-

* P. 280.

tution quite upside down : as I sincerely allow a good King cannot desire any more than the approving or rejecting any Bill offered him ; and as I believe from the bottom of my heart, that we never had so good a King as we have now : what credit can I give to what this Author asserts, that *his Majesty has already signified his consent on this point*, of so great consequence to himself, and to the very being of his FAITHFUL COMMONS, before he has so much as once heard their Opinion ? Our Author calls this an *act of unparalleled goodness*. But what I have to say upon this subject, I shall reserve to another opportunity, if what this Author seems to be assured of should prove true.

*** On the 28th of March was advertised, "The PATRICIAN, N^o II. Considerations on the PEERAGE, in answer to the PLEBEIAN," continued.

"But the wild vulgar, ever discontent,

"Their growing fears in secret murmurs vent ;

"Still prone to change, though still the slaves of state,

"And sure the Monarch, whom they have, to hate,

"Madly they make new Lords."

POPE'S THIR.

In an advertisement of the same date, announcing the Third Number of the PLEBEIAN, is this caution : "N. B. Whereas it is suspected "by a great many people, that the PATRICIAN, said to be writ against "the PLEBEIAN, is really writ by one of the same side, which is an "old trick amongst Writers ; the Publick is hereby assured, that the "Author of the PLEBEIAN has not any hand in that Paper."

††† "To morrow, being the day appointed for the Call of the Honourable House of Commons, will be published, by J. Roberts, "A Discourse upon Honour and Peerage. Occasioned by the present Reports "of a Bill now depending relating to the State of the House of Peers. "By an Elector, Peer of Scotland.

"Virtus repulsæ nescia fordix

"Iuraminatis fulgit honoribus."

HOR. 3 Od. ii. 17.

St. James's Post, April 1, 1719.

THE

T H E · P L E B E I A N .

N^o III. MONDAY, MARCH 30, 1719.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

FARTHER CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS
RELATING TO THE PEERAGE.

THE PLEBEIAN expected before now to have heard again from the OLD WHIG, especially as to his making good the last particular taken notice of in the Paper, Numb. II. which relates to the part he was pleased to affirm his Majesty had already taken in this affair; and for which there does not seem to be any foundation. However, as *age is apt to be slow*, the PLEBEIAN is willing to wait some time longer to be satisfied in that point. In the mean while, to shew with how much candor he proceeds in this dispute, he will not decline publishing in this paper a Speech made in a kind of a private-public * Company, for the Bill; in which all the arguments on that side the question are urged with that great strength of reason, and with all that advantage of oratory, for which the honourable person who made it is so deservedly admired.

The form in which it was sent to the PLEBEIAN is as follows :

* In a Committee of the House of Commons.

A SPEECH

A SPEECH in the Long Room at the
Comptroller's *.

"Optat *Ephippia* vos †."—HOR. 1 Ep. xiv. 43.

"MR. BLADEN,

"THOUGH the worthy gentleman that
"spoke last has represented the Bill that occa-
"sions this meeting as destructive of all that
"ought to be dear to every one that values
"his country, yet I am not ashamed to appear
"for it *with all the little zeal I am master of*.
"According to the *way that I have the honour*
"of thinking of this matter, this seems to me to
"be the best Bill that ever was offered us, and
"therefore *I shall be for it to the last drop of my*
"breath. I wish any gentleman would lay his
"hand upon his heart, and answer me whether
"the making twelve Lords at once in a late
"reign, was not the wickedest thing that ever
"was heard of. And such a thing I am certain
"may be attempted again, if we do not shew
"them a *new game*, and give them *one and thirty*
"of our own friends, to prevent any such prac-
"tice for the future. The worthy gentleman
"was pleased to say, That the noble Lord who
"was the author of that advice might in some
"measure be excused, if that matter is com-
"pared with what is now proposed.

* MARTIN BLADEN, Esq; Chairman of the Committee on the
Peerage Bill, was Comptroller of the Mint.

† "The Ox would Trappings wear." DUNCOMBE.

“ That Lord says; he plainly shewed that
 “ he thought what he did was a justifiable action,
 “ because he left the door open for himself to
 “ to be called to account for it, in the same
 “ manner as all other Ministers had done before
 “ him; and did not endeavour to put himself
 “ out of all reach, by fixing those persons to be
 “ his judges, who concurred with him in what
 “ he did. Sir, I must tell that worthy gentle-
 “ man, that though it has often happened that
 “ wicked men have been infatuated, and slipped
 “ their opportunity; yet that should not prevent
 “ honest gentlemen from providing for their
 “ own safety upon the like occasion. In all
 “ these cases, that worthy person added, that we
 “ ought to consider *quo animo* a man acts. I
 “ have already given my judgement in another
 “ place as to those words, and I shall give the
 “ same opinion here again. The gentleman; he
 “ thinks that this is a very bad Bill; that is
 “ his *quo animo*. I think it a very good one;
 “ that is my *quo animo*. As to what he said
 “ about the Scotch Lords, that this would
 “ be invading their property, and taking away
 “ their birthright, out of a pretence of curing
 “ a public inconvenience; and that, in the same
 “ way of arguing, any Parliament may as well
 “ take away the Funds; nothing being more
 “ inconvenient to the publick, than paying such
 “ great

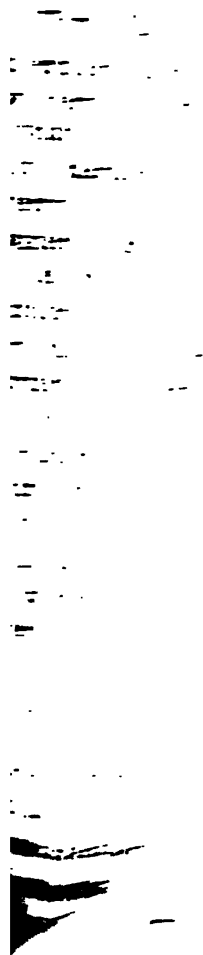
“ great and endless taxes : I hope the gentleman
“ will allow there is a great deal of difference
“ between what is done by friends, and what
“ is done by enemies. If we do take away
“ their property, I hope there is nobody here
“ that imagines that we do it out of ill-
“ will ; and the world must allow, that what is
“ done is rather out of kindness to ourselves,
“ than out of malice to them. Besides, I have
“ been informed by a very *Honourable Gentle-*
“ *man, That thrée of them are Boys at school ;*
“ and I hope nobody can imagine at this time
“ of day, that any of those Gentlemen, for
“ whom I own I have the greatest esteem,
“ would be so barbarous *as to hurt young boys,*
“ *out of an aversion to their persons.* As for
“ those of *riper years*, there are several of them
“ *Jacobites*, as the same *Honourable Person* has
“ assured me ; and I hope no such sort of people
“ will meet with any encouragement here.
“ Gentlemen are pleased to dwell much upon
“ the Scotch Nobility in this case, as if their
“ Representatives intended to take their property
“ from them ; whereas it is very plain, they
“ intend to make a Pr—— of them ; and is not
“ that the same thing to the whole nation, so
“ long as it is all amongst their *own countrymen* ?
“ And therefore I cannot imagine how any body
“ can be so absurd, as to look upon this as a

“ That Lord says, he plainly shewed that
“ he thought what he did was a justifiable action,
“ because he left the door open for himself to
“ to be called to account for it, in the same
“ manner as all other Ministers had done before
“ him; and did not endeavour to put himself
“ out of all reach, by fixing those persons to be
“ his judges, who concurred with him in what
“ he did. Sir, I must tell that worthy gentle
“ man, that though it has often happened that
“ wicked men have been infatuated, and slipped
“ their opportunity; yet that should not prevent
“ honest gentlemen from providing for their
“ own safety upon the like occasion. In
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“ place as to those words, and I shall give
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“ thinks that this is a very bad Bill; it
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“ that is my *quo animo*. As to what
“ about the Scotch Lords, that this
“ be invading their property, and taking
“ their birthright.

“ a public

“ w^h

“



“breach of the Union: And I hope we shall hear no more of that matter.

“There has been one thing often insinuated in this debate, as if some gentlemen were influenced to come into this proposal *by assurance of Peerages*, as if *they had warrants in their pockets*, and I do not know what. For my part, Sir, I act according to the best of my *understanding*, and none of those mean considerations can have any weight with me. As for all their titles and honours, *I cast them all behind my back, like chaff before the wind*. For all which reasons, I shall be heartily for the Bill.”

*** “The PATRICIAN, N^o III. was published, April 4, 1729.

“We are best of all led to

“Mens principles by what they do.”

HUD.

On the same day appeared, “The MODERATOR, N^o I. To be continued occasionally. The Arguments for and against such a Bill is is talked of, for regulating the Peerage, fairly stated, with some Reflexions upon the whole. By a Member of Parliament, *Medio tiffinis*. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d.” This seems to have been the only Number.

“The complicated Question divided, upon the Bill now depending in Parliament, relating to Peerage, written by Mr. A. GILL. Sold by J. Darby and J. Roberts, Price 6d.”

“Remarks on a Pamphlet, intituled, The Thoughts of a Member of the Lower House. Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d.”

“On the 11th of April, 1729, the fourth Number of the PATRICIAN was published, with this note from the CATO of Mr. ADDISON.

“— While the Fathers of the Senate meet

“In close debate —

“With love of Freedom —

“I’ll thunder in their ears their country’s cause,

“And try to rouse up all that’s British in them.”

THE

THE OLD WHIG,

N^o 2. THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1719.

WITH

REMARKS UPON THE PLEBEIAN.

“ ————— Eja !

“ Quid statis ? Nolint. Atqui licet esse beatis.

“ Quid causæ est, meritò quin illis Jupiter ambas

“ Iratus buccas inflet ; neque se fore posthac

“ Tam facilem dicat !” HOR. 1 Sat. i. 18.

“ Why stand you thus ? whence springs this strange
“ delay ?

“ None will be blest’d, yet every mortal may.

“ Since Heaven, incens’d, no more will condescend

“ To their next suit, a gracious ear to lend.”

SHARD.

THE Author of the PLEBEIAN, to shew himself a perfect master *in the vocation of Pamphlet writing*, begins like a son of *Grubstreet*, with declaring the greatest esteem he has for himself, and the contempt he entertains for the scribblers of the age. One would think, by his way of representing it, that the unexpected appearance of his pamphlet was as great a surprize upon the world as that of the late meteor, or indeed something more terrible, if you will believe the Author’s magnificent description of his own performance. *The PLEBEIAN* †, says he,

* See pp. 253, 243. † P. 310.

starting forth unexpectedly, they were forced like people in a surprize, or on an invasion, to march immediately any troops they had. If Cardinal Alberoni's attempt, which furnishes the allusion, succeeds no better than that of his friend the Pamphleteer, he will not have much to boast of.

Our Author, in his triumphant progress, first animadvertes on a Writer, whom he says he never read, which being my own case, I shall leave that Writer to defend himself. The second he mentions, considering the strength of his arguments, and the closeness of his reasoning, deserved a little more regard from the PLEBEIAN, who, it seems, *with much ado went through the performance.* This would certainly have been true, had he gone through it with a design to answer it.

Having routed Baronius, and confounded Bel-larmine, pass we on to the next, said the Country Curate to his admiring audience. Our Author pursues his conquests with the same satisfaction and intrepidity. In the first place he is angry with a writer for assuming the name of the OLD WHIG, who may more justly recriminate upon this Author for taking that of the PLEBEIAN, a title which he is by no means fond of retaining, if we may give credit to many shrewd guessers. But he tells the OLD WHIG *, that he *expected* from that title *no less than the utmost wrath and*

* P. 312.

indignation against the House of Lords. How does this agree with the censure he passes upon him afterwards, for *treating that species in such a manner as he dares not venture to repeat* *! I must however remind this Author of the *Milk* with which he *nurses our Nobles*, not to omit his *stagnated Pool*; passages of such a nature, that, in imitation of the Author, I shall dispatch them with an *Horresco referens*!

The Author, in the next paragraph, gives us a definition of the point in debate, *viz.* that *it is a Jumble † and a Hodge-Podge*; a most clear, comprehensive, and elegant account of the matter!

The Author then continues his animosities against the Ephori of *Lacedæmon*; but this passage I shall wave for two reasons: First, because it is nothing to the purpose; Secondly, because I am informed there are two or three keen disputants, who will return a proper answer to it, when they have discovered the Author.

The *Plebeian* proceeds to detect an imaginary mistake in the OLD WHIG, for having asserted that *there has been as great an alteration in one branch of the Legislature, as is now proposed to be made in another.* A fact immediately puts an end to a dispute, and, in the case before us, stands thus:

* P. 332.

† P. 312.

King Henry VIII. added to the	} 38 Members.
House of Commons —	
King Edward VI. — —	44
Queen Mary — —	25
Queen Elizabeth — —	62
King James I. — —	27

The question now is, whether the restraining the number of the House of Commons to what it is at present, was not as great an alteration in that branch of the Legislature, as the restriction now proposed would be to the other branch of the Legislature, should it take place in it. To which I shall add the following question: Whether the inconveniences, arising from that continual increase in the House of Commons, did not make the restraint upon it prudent and necessary; and, Whether, if the like inconveniences arise from this perpetually increasing House of Lords it is not as necessary and as prudent to put a stop to it? As for the little towns of *Watchet* and *Dunster*, our Author can draw nothing from them to the advantage of his cause, if he can bestow labour and time enough, of which he finds it necessary to be very sparing in this argument, to peruse the printed list of counties and boroughs, to whom the privilege of sending Representatives to Parliament was granted or restored by the several Princes above-mentioned; and to answer the short query proposed to him at the end of it, with relation to Elizabeth.

After

After having proposed these questions in plain terms, I come in the next place to one of the PLEBEIAN'S, which is carried on in metaphor, till it ends in something that is past my understanding. *But these retrenchments being now made, the question, says he, at present is, whether the Commons ought to go on stripping the Crown of every jewel, till it becomes less resplendent than the Doge of Venice's coronet, or less comfortable than the Sword-bearer's Cap of Maintenance*?* I shall only confront this metaphorical query with one that is adapted to men of ordinary capacities. "These retrenchments being made, whether the Commons ought to accept the offer of the Crown, to part with a prerogative that is still exorbitant and dangerous to the Community?"

But our Author's chief concern is for the poor House of Commons, whom he represents as naked and defenceless, when the Crown, by losing this prerogative, would be *less able to protect them against the Power of a House of Lords †*. Who forbears laughing, when the Spanish Friar represents LITTLE DICKER ‡, under the person of Gomez, insulting the Colonel that was able to fright him out of his wits with a single frown? *This Gomez, says he, flew upon him like a dragon, got him down, the Devil being strong in him, and gave him bastinado on bastinado, and buffet upon*

* P. 316.

† Ibid.

‡ See pp. 253. 339.

buffet, which the poor meek Colonel, being prostrate, suffered with a most Christian Patience. The improbability of the fact never fails to raise mirth in the audience; and one may venture to answer for a British House of Commons, if we may guess from its conduct hitherto, that it will scarce be either so tame or so weak, as our Author supposes.

The PLEBEIAN, to turn off the force of the remark upon another paragraph, has recourse to a shift that is of great use to controversial Writers, by affirming that his Antagonist mistakes his meaning. Let the impartial Reader judge whether an answer, that proves this alteration *would not be detrimental to the House of Peers*, is not suited to an objection which says in so many words, that *it would be detrimental to the House itself**. But, says the PLEBEIAN in this his reply to the OLD WHIG, *It will not be detrimental to them in point of Power, but it will be detrimental on account of those talents which ought to accompany Power, the want of which the Commons will feel in their judicature.* Which is, in other words, “ I do not mean when I say that it *will be* “ *detrimental to the House of Peers itself*, that it “ will be detrimental to the Peers, but that it “ will be detrimental to the Commons.” I appeal to any man, whether the OLD WHIG igno-

rantly mistook the natural sense of those words, or whether the PLEBEIAN ignorantly expressed that which he now says was his meaning in those words. The PLEBEIAN having in his former paper represented, that this old standing body of Peers, without receiving numerous additions from time to time, would *become corrupt and offensive like a stagnated Pool* *, tells us here in excuse for them, that *they will be offensive to others, but not perceive it themselves*. If I could suppose, with the Author, that they would ever be in this lamentable pickle, I should be of his opinion, that they ought to be *sweetened by such wholesome, pure, and fresh streams as are continually passing into them*.

The PLEBEIAN next objects to the OLD WHIG's calculation of the probable extinction of two Titles, taking one year with another. *By the calculation generally received*, says this Author, *I suppose he means the list published by way of prelude to this project* †. Whereas the OLD WHIG could not take that list for his calculation, but formed his calculation from that list, and from the nature of the alteration which is proposed. This objection will immediately vanish upon discovering the fallacy of the PLEBEIAN's argument. He supposes no greater number of extinctions would happen among the English

* P. 317. † P. 318.

Lords, were their numbers settled at 184, than happened in that body when they were only 59, 104, 142, 153, 162, or 168. At this rate of calculating, the PLEBEIAN will be sure of gaining his point, and affirms very truly that the extinctions by a just medium amount to no more than a Peer and a half for every year. But I appeal to honest Mr. WINGATE *, who was never looked upon as a party-writer, whether my calculation will not appear very just, if examined by his golden rule, and other curious operations of arithmetick, which are to be met with in his works; especially when the Bill, as it evidently tends to multiply extinctions, by preventing the Peerage from running into collateral lines, or descending to females; will more than answer my computation, if I should have the misfortune to disagree with the PLEBEIAN about some very minute fraction of a Lord, that might happen in the space of 116 years. As for those contingent vacancies which may be made by the edge of the Law, our Author regards the uncertainty of them as a very uncomfortable prospect to the candidates for Patrician honours, since they may have *time enough to try all their patience*, if they live in hopes of such an expedient for their promotion. The ascertaining of this point is indeed what I am not equal to, and must therefore leave it to the masters of political cal-

* The well-known Arithmetician.

culatation.

culatation. But our Author is afraid, that if such lucky opportunities of extinction should happen, Lords may still sit with their heads on, unless a seasonable increase may be made to them in such critical junctures. This, I must confess, is to me one very great reason for the alteration proposed; being fully of opinion with the OLD WHIG, as expressed in the following words *,

“ Is this inconvenience better prevented in
 “ a House of Peers on the bottom it now
 “ stands? Can any who has been a good Mi-
 “ nister be secure, if the Crown should add
 “ a sufficient number of his enemies to those
 “ who sit in judgement upon him? Or is a bad
 “ Minister in any danger, when he may be shel-
 “ tered by the addition of a sufficient number
 “ of his friends?” The PLEBEIAN’S answer to this passage is highly satisfactory: *In either of these cases, says he, the utmost iniquity must be supposed in the Crown, which I must confess I cannot bring myself to do, and therefore my argument remains entire* †. I very much approve of the Author’s dutiful and submissive behaviour to the Crown, which puts one in mind of the worthy Aderman, who, upon hearing a Member of the Common Council call the Emperor *Nero, a Minister of Cruelty*, told him, *he ought not to speak disrespectfully of a crowned head*. But if the Au-

* Old Whig, p. 300.

† P. 320.

thor will only go such lengths with me, as to allow there ever has been a bad Sovereign, or, not to shock him with such a supposition, that there ever has been a wicked Ministry, and that it is not utterly impossible but there may be such in times to come, my argument stands entire. God be thanked, we are now blessed with a good King, and with the prospect of such for our days, but cannot answer for those who are yet unborn, since they will still be men, and therefore liable to imperfection.

The PLEBEIAN was hard-set by the answer of the OLD WHIG to his arguments, That the *Limitation of the number of the Lords would run the Constitution into an Aristocracy*, and has therefore very prudently shuffled the consideration of that point under another head, where he forgets the OLD WHIG's reply to what was urged against his opinion in that case, so that he has visibly given up the point which was most material in his first PLEBEIAN. The OLD WHIG's remark therefore still stands out against him unanswered, and plainly turns his own ill consequence upon him, by shewing there is a visible tendency to an Aristocracy as the Constitution now stands, which would be taken away by the alteration proposed. But it is ungenerous to insult a baffled adversary ; I shall therefore proceed to the next particular in dispute.

The OLD WHIG affirms, that *the Power of giving money and raising taxes is confined to the body of the Commons*, and that *all the privileges together of the Lords are not equal to that One of commanding the Purse of the community*. The PLEBEIAN allows the consequence, but cavils at the position, which is a received maxim among the Commons or England, the Doctrine of the House of Commons in particular, and established by the practice of every Parliament in the memory of man. Let us now see what the PLEBEIAN affirms in contradiction to it, and by the way observe whether he personates his part well, and speaks the language of one who writes himself a *Member of the House of Commons*. The Author asserts, That *whether a Money-bill may not originally take its rise in the House of Lords, is a point never yet clearly given up by their Lordships, if he is not very much misinformed*. This point, if I am not very much misinformed, was never claimed by the House of Lords, and has not a single precedent in the practice of that body in the Legislature. He afterwards asserts that *the Commons have no more power over their fellow subjects estates than the Lords* *. Is not the power of granting a supply, fixing the quantum of that supply, appropriating every part of it to particular uses, and settling the Ways and Means

* P. 326.

for raising it; is not this power over their fellow-subjects estates much greater than that of the Lords, who can neither add to, diminish, nor alter any one of these particulars? And if the power of the Commons extends itself to all these points, how can the Author further affirm, that *all which is peculiar to the Commons in this matter is; that they have hitherto been allowed to chuse what tax they judged easiest for the people!* But what shadow of reason is there for him to proceed in asserting, that *every day's experience shews us, that if the Lords differ in opinion from the Commons, their Power is at an end;* since, on the contrary, experience shews us, that whenever the Lords have pretended to such a power, they have always been over-ruled by the Commons! Our Author tells us, *the concurrence of the Lords is as necessary to a Money-bill as to any other Bill* *. That is not denied; but he must allow that the Lords concurrence to a Money-bill is not of the same nature with their concurrence to any other Bill, which they may undoubtedly change, amend, and return, upon the hands of the House of Commons, for their concurrence in such amendments as the Lords shall think proper. Besides, to shew the PLEBEIAN how much the purse of the community is at the command of the Commons, let him consider the case of a vote of credit,

* P. 321.

which is transacted wholly between the Sovereign and the Lower House. To this we may add, that the Sovereign himself, in his Speeches to Parliament, applies that part which relates to money to the House of Commons, distinct from that of the Lords; by which method it is plain the Crown supposes those privileges are vested in the House of Commons, to which every Member of that House has always pretended, except the present Author.

The PLEBEIAN in the next paragraph makes use of a very sure and wise method of confounding his antagonist, by putting his own sense upon a passage in that Author's pamphlet. The OLD WHIG represents how dangerous it would be to our constitution, if the Crown, which is already possessed of a certain means to over-rule one branch of the Legislature, should ever be able to influence the Elections of a House of Commons, so as to gain one to its measures; in which case, if liberty was endangered in the Lower House, it could not make a stand in the other. The PLEBEIAN perverts this meaning after the following manner; *This Author*, says he, *assures us, that the Crown has Power enough to gain a House of Commons of what complexion it pleases*; and, after puzzling himself in his own voluntary blunder, is displeased with the OLD WHIG for not proposing to cure an inconvenience which
he

he never affirmed to be in the House of Commons, as well as that which he proves to be in the House of Lords; so that he would have had him quit the subject which he had undertaken, to speak of one which he had nothing to do with. But supposing the PLEBEIAN had rightly stated the sense of the Author, the inconvenience in the House of Lords is that which is woven into its very Constitution, and therefore at all times exposes us to its ill consequences; whereas what the PLEBEIAN suggests with regard to the House of Commons is only extrinsic, and accidental to that body, if it ever happens in it.

It is not probable that this dispute between the PLEBEIAN and the OLD WHIG will last many weeks: but, if there was time to discuss the whole point, I think it may be shown to a demonstration, that the check of the Crown upon the House of Commons, which is the Power of *Dissolution*, is, by infinite degrees, a weaker check than that it has in the present Constitution upon the House of Lords, which is the power of *adding* to it what number, at what time, and for what purpose it pleases: nay, that the power of Dissolution is also in its nature a check upon the House of Lords, as it dissolves them in a Legislative capacity, and may break the most dangerous cabals against the Crown, which are such as may be formed between the leaders of the

Two Houses. These two points, if drawn out into such considerations as naturally rise from them, would fully establish the necessity of three branches in a perfect Legislature, and demonstrate that they should be so far separate and distinct from each other, as is essential to Legislative Bodies : Or, as the OLD WHIG has before explained it, “ If one part of the Legislature may any ways be invested with a power to force either of the other Two to concur with it, the Legislative Power is in reality, whatever it may pretend to, divided into no more than two branches.”

I have hitherto followed the PLEBEIAN in his own method, by examining, *First*, his replies to the objections made by the OLD WHIG ; and come now to his *Second* general head, wherein he formally proposes to *consider the argument as the OLD WHIG states it himself*. And here I was not a little surprized to find, that, instead of answering the several distinct arguments urged by that Author in defence of the bill, as drawn from the nature of Government in general, from the British Constitution, from its effects on the Crown, on the House of Commons, on the whole body of the English Commonalty, and from the ill consequences it would remedy in the present Constitution ; the PLEBEIAN contents himself with attacking but one single argu-

ment of his Antagonist. Till the **PLEBEIAN** shall have answered those other points, I shall take it for granted that he gives them up. Not to multiply words, I believe every Reader will allow me that an Author is not to be much regarded, who writes professedly in answer to a discourse which proceeds on many arguments, when he singles out that argument only which he thinks is the weakest; especially when he fails in his answer even to that single argument. A famous French Author compares the imaginary triumphs of such a kind of disputant, whom he was then dealing with, to those of **CLAUDIUS**, which, instead of being represented by the strong towns he had taken, and the armies he had defeated, were testified to the people of **ROME**, by a present of cockle-shells that he had gathered up on the sea-shore.

But to come to the matter before us. The **OLD WHIG**, after having considered it in several views, examines it with regard to the whole bulk of the British Commons. Under this head he has the following words : “ But the great point,
 “ and which ought to carry the chief weight
 “ with us in this case, is, that the alterations
 “ now proposed will give such a mighty power
 “ to the bulk of the English Commons, as can
 “ be never counterbalanced by the body of the
 “ Nobility.” Now, what the **OLD WHIG** here
 calls

calls the Great Point with regard to the Commonalty of England, the PLEBEIAN insinuates he calls the Great Point with regard to the whole controversy, and descants upon it accordingly. Whereas it is evident the Author insists upon many points as great as this in other views of the question. The OLD WHIG affirms, that the Commonalty has infinitely more wealth than the Nobility, which was the proper consideration of this place. The PLEBEIAN returns for answer, that the Commonalty is indeed much richer than the Nobility, but that the House of Commons is not so rich; which was not the proper consideration of this place. It is impossible for a disputant to lose the cause, who is a master of such distinctions. I remember I was once present at an University Disputation, which was managed on the one side by a notable *Peripatetick*. The question which he defended in the negative was, *Whether Comets are above the Moon?* The Sophister, being pressed very hard by the force of demonstration, very gravely extricated himself out of it by the following distinction. *Comets*, said he, *are twofold*, *Supra-lunar and Sub-lunar. That Supra-lunar Comets are above the Moon I do allow; but that Sub-lunar Comets are above the Moon I utterly deny. And it is of this latter kind of Comets that the Question is to be understood.*

The fallacy of the PLEBEIAN's answer being thus far discovered, all that he further adds in his own way of arguing will be easily confuted by unraveling the matter which he has very artificially perplexed. The OLD WHIG supposes that every Lord in the Legislature, taken one with another, may be worth 5000l. a year, in which, for argument's sake, every one knows his concession has been vastly too liberal. The PLEBEIAN values every Member of the House of Commons at 800l *per annum* one with another, in which it is plain he has been exceeding scanty. Nay, many are of opinion, that upon casting up the whole sum of property that now resides in the House of Lords, it would not exceed that which is in the House of Commons. If this particular approaches to the truth, all arguments of a superior Power arising from its greater property fall to the ground of themselves, as being raised on a false foundation. To which I must further add, that if this increasing Power still continues in the Crown, the Property of the House of Peers will *indisputably* surmount that of the House of Commons; and that, on the contrary, if the Bill passes, it visibly tends to prevent the impoverishment of the House of Commons in point of property, and to fill it with men of such estates as in a few years will be more than a counter-balance

balance to the House of Lords, even under this view.

But, further to shew the weakness of the PLEBEIAN's reasonings upon this head, I will allow that the House of Lords enjoy at present, and may still continue to enjoy, a greater share of property than the House of Commons. But notwithstanding this concession, to which the nature of the thing does not oblige me, it is still evident that the immense property which subsists in the bulk of the English Commons will render their Representatives more powerful than the Body of the Lords. This will plainly appear from considering the very nature of Representatives; from those junctures which can possibly give them an occasion of exerting their Power; and from matter of fact.

It is implied in the very nature of Representatives, that they are backed with the Power of those whom they represent; as the demands of a Plenipotentiary, let his personal wealth or power be as little as you please, have the same weight with them as if they were made by the Person of his Principal. I will beg leave to borrow from the PLEBEIAN an example of the Bank of England, which, as he makes use of it, has no manner of analogy with the subject of the dispute. Is not the whole stock of that numerous Community under the guidance of a

few Directors? And will any one say, that these Directors have no other influence on the publick, than what arises to them from the share which they personally enjoy in that stock? The Author urges that the Peers are principals, which in reality is the reason why their Power is not to be apprehended in opposition to that of the Commons: whereas, were they only Representatives of a Body immensely rich and numerous, they would, beside their own personal Property, have such a support as would make them truly formidable. The whole Commons of England are the Principals on one side, as the Lords are the Principals on the other; and which of these Principals are armed with most Power and Property?

To consider in the next place those junctures that can possibly give them an occasion of exerting their Power. It is on both sides supposed to be in such cases as will affect the rights of the English Commonalty, in which case every Commoner of England is as much concerned as any of their Representatives. Thus if four London Citizens, to make the case exactly parallel, were deputed to maintain the rights of their Principals, as Citizens, who can imagine that they would not be supported by the whole Power and Property of the City, and not be too hard for any two or three great men, who
had

had ten times their personal estates? Now as the PLEBEIAN's supposition reduces things to the last extremity, it can only take place in a rupture, which is never likely to happen. And in that case, as these two great bodies must act separately, there is no room for considering how far the Concurrence of the House of Lords is necessary in a Money-bill, which entirely takes away the Author's reasoning in page 327.

But matters of fact are the best arguments. We both agree that Power arises out of Property; and the Author himself has given an instance of the Power of the House of Commons in having been able to effect the ruin of the Monarchy and Peerage. Whence had the Commons this Power, but from being supported by their Principals?

The PLEBEIAN thinks he strengthens his point, by adding that the Lords are a fixed Body. To this I might reply, that the Principals of the House of Commons are as fixed a Body as the Lords; and therefore, however their Representatives may vary, they will continue intent, from age to age, to assert and vindicate their peculiar rights and privileges, unless we can believe that any body of men will act against those two strong motives of self-interest and self preservation. I might further venture to say, that men of the greatest wealth and weight in the

House of Commons are almost as sure of a seat there, as if it came to them by inheritance. But supposing the House of Lords never so much fixed, and so manageable by two or three great men (for which very reason additions are very often made to them, which the alteration would prevent), we have seen that their United Power, if their number is limited, can never be a match for that of the House of Commons, supposing still such a rupture as the PLEBEIAN all along imagines, in which each body is to act separately for itself.

The Author, in the remaining part of his pamphlet, appears like every Writer that is driven out of all his holds. He endeavours to set the Crown, and the whole body of Peers, upon his adversary ; accuses him in effect of *Scandalum Magnatum* ; nay, and gives very broad imputations that he ought to be indicted for High-Treason.

I should not have given myself, or the publick, all this trouble, had I not been so peremptorily called to it by the last PLEBEIAN. I do assure him, my silence hitherto was not the effect of old age, as it has made me *slow*, but to tell him the truth, as it has made me a little *testy*, and consequently impatient of contradiction, when I find myself in the right. I must own, however, that the writer of the PLEBEIAN has made
the

the most of a weak cause, and do believe that a good one would shine in his hands; for which reason I shall advise him, as a friend, if he goes on in his *new vocation*, to take care that he be as happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in the talents of a Pamphleteer.

* * * The Author of a Pamphlet, intituled, "Six Questions, stated and answered, upon which the whole force of the Arguments for and against the Peerage Bill depends, printed for J. Roberts, 1719," 8vo, sets out thus: "It is my opinion that much darkness and perplexity have been introduced into the question now in agitation, by words and things, very foreign to a matter which touches only the peculiar constitution of Government, in which we of this Nation are concerned. If we strip the debate of such words as PATRICIAN and PLEBEIAN, which do not at all answer to LORDS and COMMONS joined with a KING in all Acts of Legislation: If we leave off talking of the nature of ARISTOCRACIES and DEMOCRACIES, which only amuse and distract the mind of the enquirer: If we take out of the question all allusions to the EPHORI of the *Lacedæmonians*, as distant in their condition from the state of our PEERS, as in the situation of their country; all stories of the NOBLES of *Denmark*, or of the Power of our BARONS in times of old, which has no relation to the Power of the PEERS of Great Britain, in the condition in which this Bill leaves them; surrounded with a World of rich and free Commoners: I say, if these and the like words and things be quite removed, and the consideration of Men confined to a few points which ought, and which must, determine the equity or iniquity, the wisdom or weakness, of the scheme now before the Parliament, we might hope that Gentlemen might, on both sides, be more clear, and less perplexed, in their sentiments than they yet seem to be."

THE PLEBEIAN.

Nº IV. MONDAY, APRIL 6, 1719.

CONSIDERATIONS UPON THE REPORTS ABOUT THE
PEERAGE, CONTINUED; IN PARTICULAR, WITH
RELATION TO THE SCOTS NOBILITY. WITH
REMARKS ON THE PATRICIAN, No. II. AND
THE OLD WHIG, No. II.

BY A MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

“ ———Quorum melior sententia menti.

“ — Pelago Danaum infidias, suspectaque dona

“ Præcipitare jubent.” VIRG. *Æn* ii. 35.

——The rest, of sounder mind,

The fatal present to the flames design’d,

Or to the watery deep. DRYDEN.

THE PLEBEIAN has been obliged to object
to the OLD WHIG, one of the *Infirmities*
of *Age*, viz. *Slowness*; and he must now take
notice of another, though he does it with great
reluctance, that is, *want of Memory*; for the *old*
Gentleman seems to have forgot, that at his first
appearance he promised the publick a particular
Treatise on the subject of the *Peerage*, as it re-
lates to *Scotland*, p. 304.

There is at present very little probability that
he will be so good as his word, and therefore I
shall

shall not delay any longer publishing something that is come to my hands on that head, which in my opinion may be of use in this controversy. Indeed, I am informed, that it has already been produced in a weekly pamphlet, which very few people, I fear, ever read, called, *The Honest Gentleman*; and therefore I hope at least to be excused in making it more public, and in using this worthy person as an ally in this quarrel, since I have so strong a confederacy against me. What I am speaking of, is a *Letter from a Nobleman of Scotland to a Gentleman of England*. When I mention a Scottish Nobleman, I would not have it understood to be one of the *Elect*, but one of the *Outcasts*; and as the case of those unfortunate persons will be, if possible, more abject and deplorable than that of the Commons of England, it is not strange that the PLEBEIAN should endeavour to do them what service he can.

THE LETTER IS AS FOLLOWS.

“ SIR,

“ IF the pleasure of doing good be indeed
 “ its own reward, you will easily excuse the
 “ trouble of this letter. Nothing is so talka-
 “ tive as misfortune: But they surely may be
 “ allowed to speak for themselves, who, as they

“ find

“ find to their great surprize, have none to speak
“ for them.

“ I was born a Peer of Scotland, formerly a
“ character of some importance, but at present
“ (I am afraid) degenerating into so little fig-
“ nificancy, that perhaps this is the last time
“ there will be any reputation to me in own-
“ ing it.

“ Every one that is acquainted with our his-
“ tory sees very well how much we gained, and
“ what we lost, by the Union. We lost our
“ Senate and our Senators; we lost the service
“ of many of our great men, and they seem to
“ have lost —— I know not what. But yet it
“ might be remembered by your free and ge-
“ nerous nation, that when we resigned ourselves
“ to that Union, we intended at least to have
“ retained the rights of men and subjects, with-
“ out the least suspicion of any encroachments
“ upon us, which you have ever so bravely re-
“ jected from yourselves. And even at this
“ Union, there were some articles agreed to,
“ which seem to make for our country, and
“ which it would be very proper for the party
“ in the present design to consult; and if after
“ that they can deliberately give us up, they
“ merit all the reproaches that the injuries of a
“ betrayed ruined people can extort from them.
“ We justly call ourselves a ruined people: for
“ if

“ if at present we are any thing short of it,
“ what may we not expect from those, if any
“ such there are, who shall dare to assume a
“ Power which we never gave them ; and that
“ not to be used for our advantage, but to the
“ injury of the nation they represent, and the
“ Peerage of which they are part ? It is certain,
“ a principle that can at any time prevail above
“ the Love of one’s country, may engage them
“ at some time or other in any designs, to the
“ very extinction of it.

“ Next to the pleasure that flows from the
“ conscious innocence of an honest heart and
“ a good meaning, the art of disguising and pal-
“ liating a bad one gives the greatest, though
“ the falsest satisfaction. Thus I have heard
“ it has been alledged by some who have been
“ too advantageously engaged on one side of
“ the question, that there is a very ingenious
“ distinction to be made between absolutely
“ violating such and such articles, and a com-
“ modious deviation from them, for certain
“ reasons ; though a plain man would not imme-
“ diately find out the real difference.

“ I have read in very old books, that Justice
“ was once the end of Power, and that the
“ Great were such as were meritorious and use-
“ ful. But if this Bill should pass, it would seem
“ that those errors are to be exploded by this
“ Bill ;

“ Bill ; and yet many of the most antient fa-
 “ milies among us believe, that they and their
 “ descendants are thereby to be made unhappy
 “ and uneasy to themselves, and useless to their
 “ country. They think the title of a Lord is
 “ the most insignificant part of his character;
 “ but when it is worn to adorn the merit and
 “ services of a truly great Man, it exposes Vir-
 “ tue in the most amiable light to universal
 “ emulation.—How irksome will it be to many
 “ a great spirit to be thought a mere Lord, to
 “ reflect on the worth of his great ancestors, and
 “ to inherit only their title; to have every talent
 “ of being useful, but the Power; to hear his
 “ fathers called good, and great, and wise, and
 “ himself his Lordship!--May we not expect that
 “ if great men should find themselves thus
 “ managed out of their birth-rights, they will
 “ not easily resign themselves to a life of indo-
 “ lence and supineness, but still hope that some
 “ occasion or other may court them to action
 “ elsewhere? God forbid it should be against
 “ that country which shall have so injuriously
 “ rendered them supernumerary to its happiness,
 “ and which would then perhaps too late find
 “ them fatal to it.

“ In such case they will, no doubt, pretend in
 “ their justification, that by having been thus
 “ divested of their birth-right, in representing

“ themselves, or the right at least of electing
 “ their Representatives, that they apprehended
 “ they were implicitly disclaimed by the Go-
 “ vernment, and reduced to the condition of
 “ outlaws, and thereby discharged from the
 “ obligations and laws of society.

“ But as the injuries, which we fear may be
 “ done us by this Bill, do not so nearly affect
 “ you, I might give several reasons, why as
 “ Englishmen you should reject it; and shew
 “ you, that at the same time that it will be the
 “ greatest discouragement to the merit of the
 “ Commonalty, it may end in equal dishonour
 “ to the Peerage.

“ As to the Commonalty, it is apparent that
 “ almost every great Genius has for a long time
 “ been produced among them, and all the posts
 “ of service have been filled by such who were
 “ born Commoners, while the offices of mere
 “ favour and show have been supplied from else-
 “ where. The reason of this is evident. A
 “ Commoner finds a great deal of merit neces-
 “ sary to his character, as an *Equivalent* for the
 “ want of Quality; while the young Lord, in-
 “ finitely satisfied with the adulations of his
 “ creatures and dependants, with ease believes
 “ what is their interest to tell him, and so aims
 “ no higher. But, should this Bill pass, a Com-
 “ moner will have as little incitement to great
 “ actions

“ actions as a Peer, and be as far below the
“ possibility of rising, as a Lord is often above it.
“ As to the Peerage, if we look into their
“ assembly, and compare the many that sit there
“ by right of descent, with the characters of
“ those who were first created to those honours,
“ and consider the modern education by which
“ they are usually formed to their future great-
“ ness, how much looseness, flattery, and false
“ politeness, they affect from their first entrance
“ into life ; we shall be able to form some notion
“ of what sort of Geniuses that assembly will be
“ composed twenty years hence, in case this Bill
“ should pass, which is ever to be our supreme
“ court of Judicature, but will be incapable of
“ receiving into it even the most conspicuous
“ merit of the age : I fancy it will very little
“ resemble the body of antient Barons of this
“ Kingdom, whose actions supply such an il-
“ lustrious part of our history. On the contrary,
“ we may expect, that as they have before been
“ voted *useless*, they will be in danger of being
“ really so ; and if that is ever the case, though
“ now and then a family should be extinct, and
“ thereby an obstacle to virtuous actions be
“ removed, it will be in vain to endeavour to
“ retrieve their Honour, by thinking to supply
“ the extinction with a man of worth and merit,
“ who will not be over-fond of making one in
“ so

“ so indifferent an assembly. So that this project, which pretends to do so much for the honour of the House, may prove as injurious to it, as to every one that is excluded from it.

“ A Commoner should not too carelessly reply to this objection, That the more insignificant that House appears, the greater weight is in the Representatives of the people; for the Commons are the guardians of the Constitution in general, as well as the private rights of their Electors in particular: besides, it does not seem upon just reflection so expedient, that that Court, which is the *dernier resort* of Justice, should ever be filled with such Judges as they might despair or disdain to apply to for relief.

“ But, in fine, if public justice is as obligatory as private; if what is so injurious to our Country may be as fatal to yours; if such a Bill would be the greatest provocation to disaffection and uneasiness to a powerful body among us, and the greatest discouragement to merit both to you and us; if it would prove prejudicial to the reputation of the Peerage, though not to their power, which is worst of all, for at the same time it would lay the foundation of a most wretched Aristocracy; if the notions of Faith and Honour are not obliterated; if the most solemn engagements are any

B b

“ more

“ more than words ; if we ought not to violate
“ the Rights of Nations for mere private convenience ; this Bill will be rejected with the detestation with which all true Britons will treat
“ every incroachment on the rights of mankind,
“ or their fellow-subjects. I am, Sir, &c.”

I cannot but think that what this Noble Briton has here said on the proposal for turning sixteen Scottish elective Peers into twenty-five hereditary ones, to the exclusion of all the rest of their principals, must make great impression upon every one that thoroughly considers it. I have not yet troubled the publick, throughout the whole course of this affair, with my thoughts on this point. For my part, I am so far from being of opinion that this *precarious situation* of the Scotch Peers is an *Evil* in the Body of the House of Lords that wants to be remedied, that it seems to me to be a very *fortunate circumstance, and the best remedy that can be provided for the Ill that both the Lords and Commons complain of*. Indeed, if the Lords can be satisfied with nothing less than being made *absolutely Independent*, which, as it has been plainly shewn, is entirely destroying the Constitution ; I must confess this will not answer their purpose : but if it be reasonable they should be under some influence of the Crown, as the other branch of the Legislature is,

is, and, however, may be desirous that their dignity be not debased nor their weight diminished by the frequent additions of Peers, which the necessities of affairs may require to be made to their Body; is it not in this case a *desirable circumstance*, that the Crown can change once in three or four, or a few years more at farthest, so many of their Members, as may answer the intentions of the Government, and not add to their number? And in like manner, if the Commons are apprehensive that the frequent draughts out of their Body, to make an over-balance in the House of Peers, are detrimental to their power, in point of property, by taking so many considerable estates from them; are they to be instrumental in changing that precarious situation of so many Members of the Upper House, as leaves it in the power of the Crown to make such alterations in that House, from time to time, as the Crown may think expedient, without taking one Member from the Commons?

Besides, there is a reason of another nature why the Commons, in my judgement, ought to rest very well satisfied that the Crown has this Power over so many Members of the other House; because it is just the same kind of Power as the Crown has over the Commons themselves. And in some circumstances this may prove even such a check upon the Crown

as the Commons may reap advantage from, and prevent the putting such sudden periods to their Being, as have been known formerly. Nay, I very much suspect, that if the proposed alteration should be made, the effect of it would be very soon felt ; and if so, I beg Gentlemen would consider with themselves, what reception they may in all probability meet with from the general Body of the Commons of England, immediately after their having given such Power to the House of Peers, as no one ever ventured to mention to their ancestors. How this matter is understood in the country, we hear from all parts already ; and this is indeed an *Advantage from the late Recess* on the side of those who are against the Bill.

But to return from this digression. How little soever what has been said may relish with some of those of another body, I am speaking here as a Commoner of England ; as one that has no ambitious desire of *being a Lord*, but very great apprehensions of *being a Vassal*. As the House of Lords now stands, there are several members of it in the same circumstances with myself ; what reason have I to consent to any thing that shall put any of them into a more independent state than I found them ? Is there any one of their Lordships that would not laugh at a proposal for making any numbers of the Commons *hereditary*,

hereditary, who are now *all elective*, though it might be done with the same justice as to their principals? Their Lordships would all say, *That is the Constitution of the House of Commons, and there we will leave it.* And has not this been the Constitution of the House of Lords ever since the British nation was united?

It is allowed that, according to the treaties between the two kingdoms, confirmed by the most solemn Acts of Parliament, this is true. But then, say they, other things were promised, without which they would never have consented to the Union. For my part, I have as had an opinion of *oral tradition in Politicks, as in Religion*; and therefore nothing of this kind can weigh at all with me. But supposing that there is some inconvenience, in the present situation of the Peerage, to the House of Lords, that difficulties may happen in relation to the seats of some Noblemen amongst them; are not those difficulties arisen entirely from themselves? And is it not an odd compliment to the Commons, that if the Lords *feel a thorn in their feet, they should desire the Commons to take it out, to put it into their own*? Surely they will never be brought to do this; much less to endanger their utter ruin, for the convenience of another body of men.

Whilst I am writing this, the OLD WHIG, Number II. is come to my hands. I really thought he had been *departed*; and whether it be himself, or his *Ghost* that walks, I am not thoroughly satisfied.

The first OLD WHIG, I must confess, had stated his argument, and was going on very regularly, if he had not been disturbed in his progress; but this *second* is as inconsistent as possible. In the first paragraph of the performance before me, he treats the PLEBEIAN as a *Grubstreet*-writer; but in the last, and several other paragraphs, as a very *able shrewd fellow*.

As to his remarks on the PLEBEIAN, Numb. II. he owns himself, "That he was very unwilling to have been concerned any farther in the dispute, and *nothing could have engaged him to have given himself or the publick any more trouble*, had he not been so peremptorily called "to it by the last PLEBEIAN *.

But as to what that PLEBEIAN calls upon him for, which was to make good what he had asserted in relation *to his Majesty's Concession*, he does not say one word about it. Indeed, in his *Motto* he hints at it, and a *Fellow-Labourer* of this Author has spoke out something more plainly on this subject. Upon the whole, it is very extraordinary. Here is at present the greatest favour or bounty, call it which you will, offered

* P. 260.

to the Commons, that ever was known, and the like it is probable will never be made to them again; and yet I do not know how it happens, they are so blind, or so perverse, that they will not see what is *so prodigiously for their good*; nay, one can hardly tell how to get them into it by *any means whatever*. The PATRICIAN says, "It is an affront of the highest nature to the Crown, and a petty kind of Rebellion to refuse this offer." And the OLD WHIG seems to be of opinion, that they deserve *to have their ears boxed for it*. As to the rest of his *Motto*, *Nil ultra quæro Plebeius* *. But whether this project was chiefly intended for the benefit of the Commons, I leave every one to judge from both these Authors, one of which plainly discovers, "That he has a prodigious concern for innocent Ministers, and trembles for what may happen to them from Kings who are yet unborn †." But the PATRICIAN has two paragraphs, which I shall transcribe without any Commentary. "The general clamour, &c. as if the design of limiting the Number of Peers, and restraining the Prerogative of the Crown, was at first projected with a view of insulting the Prince of Wales, who by this proceeding will be debarred the liberty of creating Peers

* Horace, 2 Sat. ii. 183.

"— My questions I restrain,

"A mean PLEBEIAN born."

DUNCOMBE.

† P. 348.

“ as his predecessors have done, is so low a reflection on the present Ministry, that I should not have regarded it, but that I find it a popular one *.

“ In short, we never know into whose hands the reins of Government may devolve. It therefore behoves us to secure our privileges, that we may not fall the victims of any aspiring Prince’s enraged dispositions †.”

But to return to the OLD WHIG. I confess, I am incapable to answer what he calls his Remarks, or his Objections. When I talked to him last, it was, as to the Commons, upon a foot as he had stated it himself, That the Crown could have a House of Commons of what complexion it pleased; which are his own words. As to the Lords, That they had a very considerable property of one million a hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds *per annum*: But now he says all that was only a *jest*. And as to the Commons, the Crown has no power at all over them; and as for the Lords, he pleads poverty in their behalf. And he behaves in the same evasive contradictory manner, on every other point in dispute between us. But what is worst of all, he very frequently, for want of any the least shadow of an argument, has recourse to telling *old stories*, as if they were things that happened but yesterday; which, I confess, is

* PATRICIAN, Nº II. p. 8.

† Ibid. p. 12.

another

another of the *defects of age*. And if he will not continue to be *testy*, I shall admonish him, that he has *every where* proved himself OLD, but *no where* a WHIG. As to what he seems to insinuate in relation to what is said in the second PLEBEIAN concerning the *Ephori*, the PLEBEIAN can maintain it by the best authority. *Craggs* is the man I have all along depended upon on this head, and he says, *they led the most abandoned dissolute lives*; and certainly he ought to know. His words are these, *Quamvis ipsi Ephori vixerent indulgentius & dissolutius*; p. 78.

The rest of this paragraph is very mean; and this Author's menaces in this place are as vain, as his compassion in another part of his pamphlet is insolent *.

I shall take notice but of one thing more in this pamphlet, which is the last paragraph, in these words:

“ I must own, however, that the Writer of
“ the PLEBEIAN has made the best of a weak
“ cause; and do believe, that a good one would
“ shine in his hands; for which reason I shall
“ advise him as a friend, if he goes on in his
“ new vocation, to take care that he be as
“ happy in the choice of his subject, as he is in
“ the talents of a Pamphleteer.”

Authors in these cases are named upon *suspicion*; and if it is right as to the OLD WHIG,

* See pp. 253. 339. 343.

I leave the world to judge of *this cause* by comparison of this *performance* to his *other Writings*. And I shall say no more of what is writ *in support of Vassalage*, but end this paper, by firing every free breast with that noble exhortation of the Tragedian :

*Remember, O my Friends, the Laws, the Rights,
The generous Plan of Power, deliver'd down
From Age to Age by your renown'd Fore-fathers,
(So dearly bought, the price of so much Blood.)
O let it never perish in your hands!
But piously transmit it to your Children.*

Mr. Addison's Cato.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I BEG pardon for giving my Reader this irregular trouble, having omitted something of consequence in this affair. It is said, that by the Bill, which perhaps may be proposed to the Commons*, his Majesty is to have the naming of the

* On Monday, April 6, 1719, the day on which the Fourth PLEBEIAN was published, the PEERAGE BILL was reported in the House of Lords, and ordered for a third reading on the 14th; but when that day arrived, a noble Lord in a very high station observed, "That the Bill had made a great noise, raised strange apprehensions; and since the design of it had been so misrepresented, and so misunderstood, that it was like to meet with great opposition in the other House, he thought it adviseable to let that matter lie still, till a more proper opportunity:" And thereupon the third reading of the said Bill was put off to that day fortnight. The Bill, which was in consequence dropt for that

the twenty-five hereditary Scottish Peers; that they are all to be named before the next session; But that if it should happen that any of the present sixteen should not be of the number of those named by his Majesty, in such case the present temporary Peers are to remain Lords of Parliament so long as this Parliament subsists, and their hereditary successors are during that term to be withheld from what, it is probable, they may be more than a little desirous of, *viz. a seat in the House of Peers.* If this is to be the case, I beg leave to ask these two questions: The first is, Whether any of those Lords, who at present are of the House of Peers, will continue to be *very easy company*, when they shall find themselves excluded at the end of this Parliament? For that some of them are to be excluded seems to be indisputable, if what is mentioned above is a right state of the case; for otherwise the sixteen might have been all declared hereditary, and his Majesty only left

that session, was revived in December following, when STERLE again figured away on the subject, as may be seen in page 381 & seqq. Several also of the pamphlets relating to that affair, printed during the preceding session, were revived, and new ones printed; among these were,

1. "An account of the Conduct of the Ministry with relation to the Peerage Bill, in a Letter to a Friend in the Country."
2. "Considerations on the Peerage Bill, addressed to the Whigs, by a Member of the Lower House."
3. "The Constitution explained; in relation to the Independency of the House of Lords; with Reasons for strengthening that Branch of the Legislature most liable to Abuse; and an Answer to all the Objections made to the new-revived Peerage Bill."

to add nine to the Scots, as he is six to the English.

The next question I would ask, is, Whether it is not very natural to think, that those Scottish Peers who are to be the hereditary successors of the present elective ones, will not be very pressing to be put in possession? Should both these points be allowed, as I believe they must, and likewise that the patrons of this project do not wish for any thing so much as to be in the full enjoyment of this salutary scheme, then I will venture to affirm, that there is no one expedient to gratify the ardent desires of those gentlemen, to deliver them from the *disquietude* of those that *are in*, and from the *importance* of those that *are to come in*, but the Dissolution of this Parliament. On the other hand; if this Bill should not be offered to the House of Commons, or, if offered, should not pass, I leave every one to judge whether the present Sixteen Scottish Peers will not be very solicitous of sitting out the remainder of the septennial term, to wear off the impressions which it is to be feared such an attempt as is talked of may have made upon the minds of their electors.

††† This day is published. "The Occasional Paper, Vol. III. Numb. "X. Of Genius" Printed for Em. Matthews, J. Roberts, &c. where may be had, the second edition of "The Occasional Paper, Vol. III. "Numb. IX. of Plays and Masquerades," St. James's Post, March 25, 1719.

A

L E T T E R
TO THE
E A R L O F O X F O R D,
CONCERNING THE
B I L L O F P E E R A G E.
BY SIR RICHARD STEELE *.

"Rarus enim fermè Sensus communis in illa
"Fortuna." Juv. Sat. viii. 73.

We seldom find
Much Sense with an exalted Fortune join'd.
STEPNEY.

MY LORD, Dec. 7, 1719.

I AM very glad of an occasion, wherein I have the good fortune to think the same way with your Lordship, because I have very long suffered a great deal of pain in reflecting upon a certain virulence, with which my zeal has, heretofore, transported me to treat your Lordship's person and character. I do protest to you, excepting in the first smart of my disgrace, and the expul-

* First published, in 8vo, by J. Roberts, Dec. 7, 1719.

sion

sion out of the House of Commons, I never writ any thing that ought to displease you, but with a reluctant heart, and in opposition to much good-will and esteem for your many great and uncommon talents. And I take the liberty to say thus publicly to yourself what I have often said to others, on the subject of my behaviour to you: I never had any other reason to lessen my Lord of OXFORD than that which BRUTUS had to stab CÆSAR, the Love of my country. Your Lordship will, I hope, believe there cannot be a more voluntary, unconstrained reparation made to a man, than that I now make to you, in begging your pardon thus publicly for every thing I have spoken or written to your disadvantage, foreign to the argument and cause which I was then labouring to support. You will please to believe I could not have been so insensible as not to be touched with the generosity of part of your conduct towards me, or have omitted to acknowledge it accordingly, if I had not thought that your very Virtue was dangerous; and that it was (as the world then stood) absolutely necessary to depreciate so adventurous a genius surrounded with so much power as your Lordship then had. I transgressed, my Lord, against you when you could make twelve Peers in a day; I ask your pardon, when you are a
private

private Nobleman; and as I told you, when I resigned the Stamp office *, I wished you all prosperity, consistent with the public good; so I now congratulate you upon the pleasure you must needs have, in looking back upon the true fortitude with which you have passed through the dangers arising from the rage of the people, and the envy of the rest of the world. If to have rightly judged of mens passions and prejudices, vices and virtues, interests and inclinations, and to have waited with skill and courage for proper seasons and incidents to make use of them, for a man's safety and honour, can administer pleasure to a Man of Sense and Spirit, your Lordship has abundant cause of satisfaction.

In confidence that you will accept of my sorrow and repentance for the unprovoked liberties I have taken in my former Writings, I make you my Patron in this present discourse on the greatest occasion that has, perhaps, ever happened in England. Your Lordship will see I write in haste, and the necessity of pressing forward to be time enough to be of any use will excuse the failures in style and expression. I shall therefore immediately fall into the matter of the Bill, which I fear may change this free state into the worst of all tyrannies, that of an

* See STEELE's Letter on that occasion, dated June 4, 1713, in his "Epistolary Correspondence."

Aristocracy : I shall support my reasons for that terror, by running through the several parts of it, and making it appear that this is more likely than any other consequence that can be supposed will attend such a law as this would be. The whole tenor of it is very unfortunately put together, if any thing but an addition of Power to the Peers is intended by it. I believe, my Lord, all mankind will allow that the only plausible reason for this law is what your Lordship remembers as well as I; but the preamble assigns no such reason, but says, that sixteen Peers of Scotland, by reason of many new creations since the Union, are not a sufficient and proportionable Representative of that Nobility, and therefore they shall hereafter not be represented at all, but a thing "much more suitable to the Peerage of Scotland" ought to be done for them, to wit, "that twenty-five of them should, at all times hereafter, have hereditary seats in Parliament." I always imagined no one was judge of what was suitable to a man but himself; and I see no manner of comfort that it can possibly be to one who has any thing taken from him, that the possession of it is more suitably placed. How is it suitable to the Peerage of Scotland, that, instead of having a Representative of sixteen sitting, by their election, they are hereafter to be favoured with having five and
 twenty

twenty there instead of them, and not one there in their behalf? It is, my Lord, very much below Noblemen to use cunning and artifice; and it must be allowed that the Peers of Scotland cannot complain of any thing like being tricked, but their potential seats in Parliament are barred and taken from them, not by collusion and double dealing, but the most unreserved and candid usurpation imaginable. But though this is done with so much ease, and no reason given but that they who do it are pleased to say "it is most suitable," it is to be presumed those whose consent is necessary for the divesting innocent men of their liberty and honour, will desire some better account of the matter before they deprive their fellow-subjects. I cannot but from a natural detestation of injustice say, that it is the highest wrong done to the *indulgence* mentioned a little after in the preamble, to expect it will be granted in favour of any men, in wrong of any other; and I will not doubt but the faithful Commons will alarm that benignity from being employed to the destruction of itself, or oppression of others. I hope the best man and best Prince in the world will be gracious, so as to have it *always in his power to be gracious*. I am sure he will never give his people any reason to complain but of his too

great goodness. Happy the Sovereign, and happy the people, when excessive Grace is all that is to be feared from him. Dr. BURNET compliments King WILLIAM, "Non te fortem dicimus, sed querimus." This nation may say at this time the same thing to her Monarch, "We do not only acknowledge, but bewail that he is so gracious."

But to come close to the point. The Peers of Scotland have an indefeasible right by the act of Union to be elected, and to serve in Parliament as Peers of Great Britain, in the manner therein stipulated; and it would be but more cruel, not more unjust, to take from them their lives and fortunes, as this honour and privilege which their ancestors purchased by the frequent hazard of theirs. The terms of this Union are plain and absolute; nor can there be any privilege, liberty, or property, secured by it to the meanest subject of either nation, violated or altered against his will, and no satisfactory reparation done him, without infringement of the whole act, and leaving the persons so injured, at large as innocent outlaws, at liberty to avenge by force what was done by force; for protection and obedience are reciprocal, and the withdrawing the one discharges the other. What then is the condition of these unhappy men, who are to be divested of their rights

rights and privileges of subjects, and yet no doubt to be deemed traitors, should they fly to any foreign power, or invader of that nation, which has in the dearest and greatest considerations (those of honour and distinction) made them foreigners? But I will argue this point from the nature of power in general.

Power, as it is to be exerted by men over men, must be directed according to nature, justice, and reason. The first obvious step from confusion and anarchy towards such a power, is submission to the will of one great good man; but such is the weakness and insufficiency of the greatest and best for such a charge, that every abatement, limitation, and division, of that Power which was at first despotic, are so many improvements of government. The Legislature of these kingdoms, in spite of many convulsions, has rested in three states; but neither this, or any other form, can preserve itself, but according to the rules of justice and honour: Power separated from them is brute-force, and becomes violence, which is inconsistent with reason and nature, according to which it is as just a maxim to say, The Legislature can do no wrong, as to say, The King can do no wrong; for to do wrong is not to do as becometh a Legislature, or becometh a King, and therefore not in the power of either.

If we should suppose the State to commit injustice, it would in that Act be as destructive of itself, as of the persons violated ; for it would cease to be a congregation of men living under laws, and begin to be a collection of robbers and pirates supporting themselves by force and strength ; it is therefore certain that it is impossible, and against the very nature of the thing, the Legislature should do injustice.

The terms of the Union cannot be revoked without disuniting the kingdoms ; for after that is done, they are no longer held together by law, but by force ; and the Power which keeps us together must be arbitrary, and not legal ; or if legal, not righteous ; for a law not supported by justice is in itself null and void ; nor are the makers of it Legislators, but Oppressors.

Thus then it appears, without any possible contradiction, that the Parliament of Great Britain cannot exclude the Peers of Scotland from the benefit of the twenty-third article in the act for the Union, without becoming an arbitrary power, acting with an indifference to good and evil, on the foundation of Might only.

Now, as men are attempting what is not in their power to do according to honesty, and therefore not in their power to do at all, one would think this were enough to say against it ; but the world is so corrupt, that an argument
that

that a thing is inconvenient is more forcible than reasons to prove a thing unjust.

I shall go on then to urge that we are safer under the Prerogative in the King, than we can be under an Aristocracy.

The Prerogative is a Power in the Sovereign, not expressed or described by the laws, but to be exerted in the preservation of them, by the rule of the general good. And if you could prove that the business of the twelve Gentlemen was done purely to save the nation, and that it was done for the good of the whole, the Statesman who advised it would deserve the thanks of all mankind, for exposing himself to the misinterpretation and resentment of future Parliaments for the good of his fellow-subjects. I say, Sir, the fault is not in the Power, but the misapplication of it: and in judging of this matter we are to carry our thoughts beyond the age we live in, and abstract ourselves from the little quarrels and animosities of our time, and consider, if this Power may not be proper to be lodged in the Chief Magistrate of this Kingdom a hundred years hence. The Magistracy of the King of England will be disabled if this Power is taken away; and we are to expect protection, as well as fear oppression from it. And, my Lord, had I time, I am confident I could cite you as many instances of preservation from the

prerogative in good Princes, as of violation from arbitrary ones. I believe it will puzzle all the Civilians in the world to account for the behaviour of the Sixteen Lords on this occasion. For though a Deputy, or Representative, has indeed full right to act for his Principal or Constituent in as ample and effectual manner as if it were such his Principal himself who did all which he the Representative acts; at the same time, it is from reason and equity understood, that these acts should be for his Constituent's good and interest, and never can be construed to extend to the taking all the Constituent's property, and converting his authority to act for him, into a power to act against him; much less for vesting in himself, the *Representative*, the right entrusted by the Principal.

I will not pretend to doubt but that those noble Personages have under the hands and seals of all and every of their Electors, the Peers of Scotland, full power and authority for this alteration; without which authority, this proceeding cannot be reconciled to common honesty. But I will aver, that if the thirty odd, who are to be enobled by this Bill, are to be made up by present Members of the House of Commons, such Members are to climb to honour through infamy. Nor can I imagine what comfort reasonable creatures can take in an advancement so purchased,

purchased, but that of hiding the sur-names of their families, which they shall have made detestable, under the covering of titles.

This is not, my Lord, talking passionately, but plainly and honestly ; and I do not do such men, if there are such, injury ; but they do me and every Commoner of England injury, by treacherously attempting to facilitate the passage of this dreadful Bill into a law, that may enslave their present equals, and contriving to partake of the tyranny over them obtained by such their perfidiousness.

My Lord, what I promised to maintain was, that the Bill is made for an Aristocracy, and indeed it seems to me calculated for nothing else ; nay, it has not so much as the appearance of any thing else ; for though a man of honour, that is to say, a man of conscious integrity, knows that he is a Peer for the sake of his fellow-subjects, and that this right is vested in him and his family for the sake of society, not for himself and successors only ; yet is there no part of society considered in this Bill, but merely the Peers and Nobles. Your Lordship, who has declared against it, has observed this with proper care of the Prerogative ; give me leave to declare the same, not only in behalf of the Prerogative, but also that of the People. The Lords exercise a power in the last resource of justice ; and an

appeal, they say, lies to them from the Courts of Westminster-hall for determining all the property of Great-Britain; and yet they are willing to have a law which must necessarily disable them from being a Court of Justice, that is, a capable Court of Justice, for the future. The Bill even provides for their insufficiency as to this purpose; and there is a clause, which, instead of looking out for great and knowing men, is very careful to leave Power in the King to give titles, in case of extinctions, to minors. But such at the same time is the partiality of the Bill that females are to be excluded from their future right, as if a Lady of good sense were not as capable of bringing into the world a man of sense, as a boy under age is of becoming a man of justice and honour from the mere recommendation of his fortune; for it is not to be doubted but that would be his best pretension; but Lords have thought it more eligible to have in view the providing rich husbands for their daughters from among the Commons, than leaving it to their female heirs to make Lords of the descendants of meritorious Commoners.

Thus, my Lord, you see the Aristocracy is already set out by this Bill; for all the provisions and limitations of it regard only the titles and honours of the Peers, and a prodigious care is taken that no one should suffer from possible
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contingencies and distant incidents among themselves, but no regard had to the known immediate present rights of those who do not sit in their House, but have title of election into it; there is no difficulty of destroying those whom they know to have titles, but they are prodigious tender of hurting who may have titles of which they do not know. And we Commoners are supposed not to have eyesight enough to see through this noble subtlety. The Lords will be Judges, and give and admit to whom they please incidental claims; but extinctions are to be supplied only by the King, and he might possibly give them to persons they should not like.

The worthiest circumstance in the Bill, is the favour and notice taken of the title in the Dutches of *Bucclugh*; and if good sense, virtue, and all manner of merit, are reasons for honouring any persons in their descendants, the heirs of that illustrious Lady have indisputable pretensions; and I hope the King will never want the assistance of his Legislature for conferring it upon them, without the assistance of such a Bill as this is.

To conclude, my Lord. The restraint of the Peers to a certain number will render the House useless, because it is well known that the great business is always carried on by men created first in their own persons; and if all such were now

to be excluded, I need not say what would be the ability of the House.

When they are confined to a number, the most powerful of them will have the rest under their direction, and all the property disputed before them will be bestowed not by judgement, but by vote and humour, or worse. Judges so made by the blind order of birth will be capable of no other way of decision. It is said that power attends property; it is as true that power will command property; and I am at liberty to say, that, according to the degeneracy of human nature, the Lords may as well grow corrupt as other men; and if they should do so, how will this be amended but by the consent of those who shall become so corrupt? What shall we then say? shall we expose ourselves to probable evils, with the prospect of impossible remedies against them?

I will not insinuate any thing from the suspicions or dangers that may very well be expected will arise from the impatience of those new Nobles, who are not to be seated in the House till another Session of Parliament; but am at liberty to suppose that session would not be very far off after this Bill should become a Law. It is hardly to be read seriously, when the Bill in a grave style and sober contradiction has these words, "The twenty-five Peers on the part of

"the Peerage of Scotland," as if they who were made instead of the Peers of Scotland, could without a banter be called Peers on the part of the Peerage of Scotland. The true description of them is, Peers made when the Peers of Scotland were no more to be Peers; for the titles resting in their families, without hopes of succession in the Peerage and Legislature, is only a bar against any participation of power and interest in their country. It is putting them into the condition of Papists Convict, as to what ought to be most dear to them, their Honour and Reputation.

It is held by true Politicians a most dangerous thing to give the meanest of the people just cause of provocation, much more to enrage men of spirit and distinction, and that with downright injuries.

We may flatter ourselves that Property is always the source of Power; but Earl Mar *, who led and commanded men of much greater property than himself, is an instance that property, like all other possessions, has its effects according to the talents and abilities of the owner: and as it is allowed that learning and courage are very common qualities in that nation, I should think it not very adviseable to provoke the greatest, and

* See p. 62.

for aught we can tell, the best men amongst them.

Thus we are barred from making this law by prudential rules, as well as from the inviolable rule of justice and common right with relation to the Scotch Peers; but if we consider the matter with regard to the King's Prerogative, this Law would diminish it to an irreparable degree; and it is a strange time to take away power, when it is in the possession of a Prince who uses it with so much moderation, that he is willing to resign it. But we are to consider the Prerogative as part of the estate of the Crown, and not consent to the taking it out of the Crown till we see just occasion for it.

His Majesty's indulgence makes it safe in his royal breast; and we know of nothing any other of the family has done to alter it for fear of him. If others have just apprehensions, from whencesoever they arise, they shall speak them, and prove them just, before they have any honest man's vote for altering the estate in the Crown. The Prerogative can do no hurt when Ministers do their duty; but a settled number of Peers may abuse their power, when no man is answerable for them, or can call them to an account for their encroachments.

I know it is said, and that very truly, the manner of their power will be the same as now; but

but then the application of it may be altered when they are an unchangeable body. Schemes of grandeur and oppression can be formed to invade the property, as well as liberty, of their fellow-subjects; which would, according to the present establishment, be vain to undertake, when they are subject to alteration before their projects could be ripened into practice and usurpation.

As for any sudden and surprizing way of creation, that lies before the Legislature for censure, and the great diminution which all creations bring upon the King's authority is a sufficient defence against the abusive employment of that authority this way: for when the King makes Peers, he makes perpetual opponents of his will and power, if they shall think fit; which one consideration cannot but render frequent creations terrible to the Crown.

This constitution has subsisted in spite of convulsions and factions, without restraining or expressing the extent of the Legislative Powers; nor is it possible for any man, or assembly of men, to circumscribe their distinct authorities: no, they are to be left eternally at large; and the safety of each part, and the good of the whole, are to be the rules of their conduct. And as it is impossible to foresee all the circumstances which must arise before them, there is no other
safe

safe way, but leaving them at large, as vigilant checks upon each other, equally unconfin'd, but by reason and justice.

Hence it is, my Lord, that I have always asserted, that if there ~~was~~ any outrage committed in the case of the twelve gentlemen, the Peers should have then withstood the receiving of them, or done what they thought fit at another season for their satisfaction; and not when it is too late, instead of asserting their liberties, meditate their future security in unreasonable concessions from the Crown, and discouragements upon the merit of the Commons.

I have, my Lord, lain under unjust imputations of turning the persons and characters of men in present power into ridicule *; but as I abhor to do any thing but what I think I may defend, I neither have nor will presume to take such a licence, but leave it to gentlemen's own modesty and reflection, to consider whether they can reasonably think the consummation of the English glory and merit is too close and rest in their persons.

After the Bill has sufficiently provided for the Aristocracy over these dominions, it goes into a

* It was during the present opposition to the Court, that STEELE'S licence for acting Plays was revoked, and his patent rendered ineffectual; at the instance of the Duke of Newcastle, then Lord Chamberlain. See the THEATRE, N^o VIII. & *passim*.

kind

kind of œconomy and order among themselves, which relates to their Nobility, and not to their Peerage. We plain men and Commoners will not dispute about any thing which we know to be merely trifling and ornamental ; and if they will be satisfied with a power in them as Peers, they shall be Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, or what other words they please, without our envy or opposition. But when we come seriously to consider what we are going to do, we must take the liberty to be very zealous, as the last time that it may be in our power to make a stand for ourselves and our posterity ; and Noblemen cannot blame Commoners, who are as shy in bestowing, as they are importunate in urging the grant of such a Power in themselves ; which can be of no use or advantage but to themselves. At the same time one cannot resist observing to them, that, with respect to the prerogative, the Peerage of Scotland, and the rights of the whole body of the people of Great Britain, they cannot be more exorbitant in the use of this Bill, should it become a law, than in the circumstances under which they send it to us for our concurrence ; and it is not thirst of power, but moderation in the demands made of it, can recommend men to further trust ; and we cannot apprehend but that which would be founded on Usurpation would be exerted in Tyranny. But,

my Lord, it is to be hoped this unreasonable Bill will be entirely rejected, when no one can pretend to amend what is in its very nature incorrigible; for it would be in vain to attempt a superstructure, which ought to be approved, upon a foundation which deserves nothing but indignation and contempt. It is a melancholy consideration, that, under the pressure of debts, the necessities of a war, the perplexities of trade, and the calamities of the poor, the Legislature should thus be taken up and employed in schemes for the advancement of the power, pride, and luxury of the rich and noble. I speak not this, my Lord, to spread discontents or sow divisions, but to compose and heal them: I speak it in charity to all men, and address it to one, towards whom of all others my behaviour has been most exceptionable. Thus far, my Lord, have I treated this affair in a most solemn manner, by reason of the awful authority from whence it comes; but we must not, on such great occasions, be oppressed by outward things, but look to the bottom of the matter before us, divested of every thing that should divert us from seeing the true reason of what passes, and the pretensions to what is asked. If this Bill is required for preventing the creation of occasional Peers, why at the same time are five and twenty Scotch, and eight English, to be now made? Is
not

not this the same thing as to say, if you will let us make so many this one time, under the sanction of a law, we will make no more, for we shall have no occasion for any more —

“ Accusat Catilina Cethegum *.”

It appears indeed very unlikely any more should be wanted; if all that is wanted is to prevent the sudden and occasional increase of Peers, a more easy method for that purpose is obvious, to wit, a prohibition to sit and vote in Parliament, till after a convenient distance of time after their creation. I speak not this as I approve even such a remedy; for every power of Parliament (as is already observed) has from the reason of the thing, and their distinct safety, proper limitations, as well as privileges; but I name that expedient only to shew that more is asked than is wanted; and when more is asked than is wanted, it cannot be thought unfair to suspect much more is to be done with the superfluous power than is acknowledged. The former conduct of the House of Peers, of admitting or opposing creations of the Crown, shews that they well know they have a power of so doing, when the reason of the thing gives them authority for it, much more when reason dictates that their very existence, as a House of Parliament, is struck at, as in the case of pouring in new members in the midst of their debates.

* Juvenal, Sat. ii. 27.

The latter end of the Bill seems to have some compassion towards the prerogative, and enacts something Gracious towards the Descendants of the Sovereign before the commencement of the Aristocracy: " Provided always nevertheless, " That nothing in this act contained shall be " taken or construed to lay any restraint upon " the King's Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, for advancing or promoting any Peer, " having vote and seat in Parliament, to any " higher rank or degree of Dignity or Nobility; " nor from creating or making any of the Princes of the Blood Peers of Great Britain, or " Lords of Parliament; and such Princes of the " Blood, so created, shall not be esteemed to be " any part of the number, to which the Peers " of Great Britain are by this act restrained."

You see, my Lord, the grace and favour which (as soon as all their own posterity, and accidents that could befall them, are provided for) is most bounteously bestowed upon the children of the Royal Family. As this goodness is conferred on those of it who are not yet entitled to that Honour, it is to be presumed, in spite of all groundless insinuations that are spread abroad, nothing vested in others of them will be assaulted; but that whatever becomes of this bill, their present estates, their then remaining estates will be still inviolable. I am
confident

confident none will deserve any other ; and as all human nature is subject to infirmities, those are most excusable which grow upon the dignity of our nature. I will dwell no more upon this tender place, but say with the Tragedian :

“ Pyrrhus is violent, but he’s sincere.”

To conclude, my Lord, I will not doubt but mens spirits will be sufficiently raised, in a cause which so nearly concerns the subject, from the highest to the lowest ; and that since the House has given this affair such proper usage, as to call a full Assembly to be present at the debate, it will infallibly end according to justice ; for I can never think the liberty of England in danger at such a meeting. Rancors, animosities, and private hates, vanish in common danger ; and I doubt not but the zeal that demanded a hearing before this full assembly, will be doubled at it. I cannot leave off till I have done justice to a noble and generous Youth, who pleaded for the more distant day ; and wish I could represent him in the amiable figure which he bears in my imagination to all the rest of his fellow subjects. The Roman, the English Virtue is not lost, while a young Nobleman is contending against a power as a Patriot, which he has so near a pretence to as a Son. Filial piety to his country and to his family had no struggle, but worked together to break through a modesty which long withheld

him from taking a leading part in this glorious contention. Many, who are nearer to him in interest and fortune, will, I hope, on the approaching occasion, emulate his virtue. None who have the honour to sit in the Legislature should be indifferent in it, but exert themselves according to the interest they have in these dominions, the only remaining seats of Liberty. As for me, a poor PLEBEIAN, who, from the love of justice and virtue, have, at the entrance into old age, but just lifted my head out of obscurity into noise, clamour, and envy, be it enough to applaud and celebrate their noble qualities; be it enough for me to be permitted and forgiven.

I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most
obedient, and most humble servant,

R. STEELE.

* * * "This Day is published, in a small Volume, Price 1s. The Sixth Impression of the Four PLEBEIANS, or Considerations upon the Reports about the Peerage, and particularly as to the Scots Nobility. By a Member of the House of Commons. With Remarks on the PATRICIANS, the OLD WHIGS, and other Pamphlets that were written for the proposed Bill, during the last Session of Parliament. Sold by S. Pepping and A. Dodd; where may also be had any of the single Numbers, and where Letters directed for the PLEBEIAN are taken in."

Flying Post, Nov. 26, 1729.

"On Saturday next will be published, An exact Account of the Expedition to, and taking of Vigo. By an impartial Hand. Sold by J. Roberts and A. Dodd. Where may be had, the PATRICIAN, N^o 1. II. III. IV. in answer to the PLEBEIAN."

Whitehall Evening, Nov. 26, 1719.

"The Peerage Bill considered, as it relates to the Scots, pr. 2d."

Ib. Dec. 2, 1719,

SPEECHES

SPEECHES IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, ON
THE PEERAGE BILL *.

AN engrossed Bill from the Lords, entitled, *An Act for the settling the Peerage of Great Britain*, was read a second time; and a motion being made by the Lord William Powlet, for committing the Bill, which was seconded by Sir Charles Hotham, the same occasioned a warm and long debate, which lasted from one of the clock in the afternoon till near nine at night. The principal persons, who spoke for and against the motion, were as follows:

<i>For committing the Bill.</i>	<i>Against the Committing.</i>
1 Lord William Powlet,	1 Sir Richard Steele,
2 Sir Charles Hotham,	2 Mr. Pitts,
3 Col. Morton,	3 Sir Wilfred Lawson,
4 Mr. Hambden,	4 Mr. Horatio Walpole,
5 Mr. Secretary Craggs,	5 William Wykes, Esq.
6 Mr. Plummer,	6 Sir John Packington,
7 Mr. Attorney-General,	7 Mr. Methuen,
8 M. Aislabie,	8 Mr. Herne,
9 Sergeant Pengelly.	9 Mr. Tuffnell,
10 Mr. Hungerford.	10 Mr. Robert Walpole,
	11 John Smith, Esq.

It is impossible to relate all that passed in that memorable debate, the rather, because, except-

* From the Political State, Dec. 1719, p. 553.

ing a great many Lords, very few strangers, were admitted into the House. However, to gratify the curiosity of our constant readers, we shall take notice of some material passages, which were communicated to us by persons of honour, and undoubted credit. Sir RICHARD STEELE, who spoke first on the opposite side, made use of some of the arguments against the Bill, which he had published that very morning in his Letter to the Earl of Oxford; concluding, *That he was against committing the Bill, because he thought it would be committing of sin.* Mr. PITTS spoke with a great deal of warmth and vehemence against the projectors of this Bill, whom he taxed with mean obsequiousness to foreigners, and with designs against the liberties of their countrymen. Sir Wilfred Lawson and Mr. Horatio Walpole, who spoke on the same side, were answered by Colonel Morton. On the other hand, Sir John Packington spoke with a great deal of eloquence and weight against the Bill, saying, among other things, “ that they had no man in the world to acknowledge the obligations his Majesty had been pleased to express in his speech, for the good of his subjects and the liberty of our constitution; that in his opinion, his Majesty was not to be reproached of the manner of making his speech, nor the effects of those gracious intentions; ”

" tentions ; and that, in particular, the Bill now
 " before them was a very improper return to
 " all the demonstrations of duty, zeal, and af-
 " fection, which his faithful Commons had given
 " since his Majesty's happy accession to the
 " throne : That when the King and his Ministers
 " thought fit to enter into a strict alliance with
 " France, and thereby give that ancient and al-
 " most irreconcilable enemy of England an op-
 " portunity to retrieve the extreme low and def-
 " perate condition of their affairs, the Commons
 " had not opposed those measures : That when
 " his Majesty judged it necessary, either for the
 " good of his subjects, or to secure some acqui-
 " sitions in Germany, to declare war against Swe-
 " den, and to send strong squadrons into the Bal-
 " tick, his faithful Commons had readily provi-
 " ded for those great expences : That when after-
 " wards it was thought proper to deprive his
 " Majesty's subjects of the beneficial trade to
 " Spain, by declaring war against that Crown,
 " and sending a fleet into the Mediterranean, to
 " serve as ferry-boats for the Emperor's troops,
 " the good-natured Commons had approved
 " those wise counsels : But that, after all these
 " and several other instances of obsequiousness
 " and complaisance which the Commons had
 " shewn for the Ministers, it was matter of
 " wonder, they should at last be no better re-

“warded than by a Bill, which was visibly cal-
 “culated to exclude them from titles of ho-
 “nour, and to raise the dignity and power of
 “the Peers : That this seemed to have been
 “the principal design of the Ministry, since the
 “beginning of this reign, and in particular, to
 “give one family the absolute disposal of all
 “honours and favours : That, for his own part,
 “he never desired to be a Lord, but that he had
 “a son who might one day have that ambition ;
 “and he hoped to leave him a better claim to
 “it, than a certain great man had when he
 “was made a Peer : That it was, indeed, an
 “extraordinary and unexampled condescension
 “in his Majesty, to part with so valuable a
 “branch of his royal Prerogative, as is the
 “bestowing marks of honour and distinction on
 “such as have deserved them by their eminent
 “virtues and services to their King and Country.
 “However, considering what equivalent was
 “given by this Bill to his Majesty, nobody
 “would wonder at this concession, if it reached
 “no farther than his Majesty. But he hoped
 “this House would never concur in depriving
 “of so bright a jewel of the Crown, the Prince,
 “who in his proper turn was to wear it ; and
 “who was so worthy of it by all the royal vir-
 “tues that shone in his person ; and which, du-
 “ring his Regency, had gained him the hearts
 “and

“ and affections of all true Englishmen ; that
 “ some persons had, through their indiscre-
 “ tion, occasioned an unhappy difference ; and
 “ he was apprehensive that if this Bill, so
 “ prejudicial to the rights of the presumptive
 “ Heir, should pass into a law, it might render
 “ that division irreconcilable ; and therefore he
 “ was against the committing it.” Mr. Hampden
 answered one of the most material objections
 against the Bill ; viz. “ That it would give the
 “ Peerage an Aristocratical authority ;” endea-
 vouring to shew, on the contrary, *That the limiting*
the number of the Peers would rather diminish than
increase their power and interest, since these were
mainly owing to the constant addition of riches
which the Peerage receives by the enobling of
wealthy Commoners. Mr. Secretary Craggs spoke
 on the same side ; and though he ushered in his dis-
 course with a modest apprehension, “ that what
 “ he was going to offer would have but little
 “ weight ;” yet, with all the art of oratory, he said
 all that the subject could bear, and came off
 with general applause. He urged, among other
 reasons, “ That his Majesty, since his accession
 “ to the Throne, had had no other view, than
 “ to procure the good and happiness of his sub-
 “ jects, and to secure their rights and liberties.
 “ That having, in his royal wisdom, considered
 “ the abuse that was made in the last reign of
 “ that

“ that branch of the Prerogative relating to the
 “ creating of Peers, which abuse had brought
 “ the liberties of Great Britain, and of all
 “ Europe, into imminent danger, his Majesty,
 “ through a condescension worthy of a Prince
 “ truly magnanimous, had graciously been
 “ pleased to consent, that such bounds be set to
 “ that part of the Prerogative as may prevent
 “ any exorbitant and dangerous exercise of it
 “ for the time to come : That it was only in the
 “ reigns of good Princes, that Legislators had
 “ opportunities to remedy and amend the defects
 “ to which all human institutions are subject ;
 “ and that, if the present occasion of rectifying
 “ that apparent flaw in our constitution was
 “ lost, it might, perhaps, never be retrieved.”

Mr. Methuen, formerly Secretary of State,
 answered Mr. Craggs ; and with great strength
 and solidity of argument shewed the danger
 of making alterations in the fundamental Laws
 and ancient Constitution ; urging the compa-
 rison of a building, in which the removing
 of one single stone from the foundation may
 endanger the whole edifice. Mr. Herne and
 some others spoke on the same side. After
 which, Mr. Attorney General made a long and
 learned speech ; and though he owned, “ that
 “ he did not like this Bill as it was sent down
 “ to them ; yet he did not doubt but it might
 “ be

“ be made a good one, provided the Lords would
“ give the Commons an equivalent, and share
“ with them several privileges and advantages
“ which their Lordships enjoy. Therefore he
“ insisted on the committing of the Bill, that
“ they might make proper amendments to it ;
“ and as to the objection, that it was dangerous
“ to make any innovations in the Constitution,
“ he brought in several instances, particularly
“ the Act for limiting the Succession, and the
“ Act of Union, which indeed had altered, but
“ on the other hand had rather improved and
“ strengthened, than prejudiced the original
“ Constitution.” Mr. Robert Walpole spoke
next on the other side ; and, with his usual elo-
quence, and great strength of reasoning, endea-
voured to confute all that had been offered in
favour of the Bill. Among other remarkable
particulars, he took notice, “ That among the
“ Romans, the wisest people on earth, the
“ Temple of Fame was placed behind the
“ Temple of Virtue, to denote that there was no
“ coming to the former, without going through
“ the other : but that, if this Bill passed into
“ a law, one of the most powerful incentives to
“ Virtue would be taken away, since there would
“ be no coming to Honour but through the
“ winding sheet of an old decrepit Lord, and
“ the grave of an extinct Noble Family : That
“ it

“ it was matter of just surprize, that a Bill of
 “ this nature should either have been projected,
 “ or at least promoted, by a gentleman who not
 “ long ago sat amongst them ; and who, having
 “ got into the House of Peers, would now shut up
 “ the door after him : That this Bill would not
 “ only be a discouragement to Virtue and Merit,
 “ but also endanger our excellent Constitution;
 “ for as there was a due balance between the
 “ three branches of the Legislature, if any more
 “ weight were thrown into any one of those
 “ branches, it would destroy that balance, and
 “ consequently subvert the whole Constitution:
 “ That the Peers were already possessed of many
 “ valuable privileges; and to give them more
 “ power and authority by limiting their number,
 “ would in time bring back the Commons into
 “ the state of the servile dependency they were
 “ in, when they wore the badges of the Lords :
 “ That he could not but wonder that the Lords
 “ would send such a Bill to the Commons;
 “ for how could they expect that the Commons
 “ would give their concurrence to so injurious
 “ a Law, by which they and their posterities are
 “ to be excluded from the Peerage? And how
 “ would the Lords receive a Bill by which it
 “ should be enacted, That a Baron should not be
 “ made a Viscount, nor a Viscount be made an
 “ Earl, and so on? That, besides all this, that
 “ part

“ part of the Bill which related to the Peerage
 “ of Scotland, would be a manifest violation
 “ of the Act of Union on the part of Eng-
 “ land, and a dishonourable breach of trust in
 “ those who represented the Scotch Nobility :
 “ That such an infringement of the Union
 “ would endanger the entire dissolution of it,
 “ by disgusting so great a number of the Scotch
 “ Peers as should be excluded from sitting in
 “ the British Parliament. For as it was well
 “ known that the Revolution settlement stood
 “ upon the principle of a mutual compact, if
 “ we should break first the Articles of Union,
 “ it would be natural for the Scots to think
 “ themselves thereby freed from all allegiance.
 “ And as for what had been suggested, that the
 “ election of the Sixteen Scotch Peers was
 “ no less expensive to the Crown than inju-
 “ rious to the Peerage of Scotland, it might be
 “ answered, that the making twenty-five here-
 “ ditary sitting Scotch Peers would still increase
 “ the discontents of the electing Peers, who
 “ thereby would be cut off of a valuable con-
 “ sideration for not being chosen.” Mr. Aislabie,
 Chancellor of the Exchequer, who spoke
 next, answered a material objection that had
 been raised against the Bill, *viz.* “ That it was
 “ dangerous to make any innovations in the Con-
 “ stitution ;” and made it appear that “ several
 “ alter-

“ alterations had been made in the original Constitution by *Magna Charta*, the *Habeas Corpus Act*, and several other laws, made for the benefit of the subject;” and, upon the whole, was for committing the Bill. He was backed by Mr. Serjeant Pengelly; but they were opposed by Mr. Smith, who, among other arguments, urged, “ That the foundation of this Bill being wrong and faulty, there was no room for amendments, and therefore he was against committing it.” Mr. Hungerford, who brought up the rear, was of a contrary opinion.

But about a quarter past eight in the evening, the question being put upon the Lord William Powlet’s motion, the same was carried in the negative, by a majority of 269 voices against 177; so that, including the two tellers on each side, there were 450 Members in the House. After this, the prevailing party moved, and it was resolved by about the same majority, *That the Bill be rejected.*

* * * “ This day is published, the second edition of the *MODERATOR*, wherein the Arguments for and against the Peerage Bill are fairly stated. With some Reflections upon the whole. *Medio tantissimus.* Printed for J. Roberts, Price 6d.” Post-boy, Nov. 28, 1719.

“ On Monday next will be published, An Account of the Conduct of the Ministers with relation to the Peerage Bill. In a Letter to a Friend in the Country. *Serò sapiunt Phryges.* Printed for J. Roberts, price 3d.” Post-boy, Nov. 28, 1719.

“ On Tuesday next will be published, An Enquiry into the Manner of creating Peers. *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.* Virg. Printed for J. Roberts, price 1s.” Ibid.

T H E S P I N S T E R,
IN DEFENCE OF
THE WOOLLEN MANUFACTURES.

N^o I. DECEMBER 19, 1719 *.

Cætera, ni Catia est, demissa veste tegentis.

HOR. I Sat. ii. 95.

‘ For all the rest is cover’d with the gown.’ CREECH.

THIS Discourse is written in behalf of the Needy and Distressed, in opposition to the Wealthy and Powerful ; who, I fear, may conspire for their own ends, to leave the afflictions and complaints of their miserable fellow-subjects and fellow-creatures neglected and unrelieved. I shall continue it from time to time, during the dispute between the dealers concerned in the Woollen and Callico manufactures.

But though my present opinion is clearly on the side of the cloathing made for our own Wool, I shall not be deaf to Callico.

And if any gentlewoman, dating herself at the present writing and time of the year in England, and in Callico, shall write her thoughts to REBECCA WOOLLPACK, spinster, at Mr. Roberts’s, in Warwick-lane, post-paid (for the

* This Paper was published in 8vo. by J. Roberts, Price 3d. and was intended to have been continued occasionally. Only the First Number of it, however, appeared. See the *Notes* in p. 426.

Woollen-manufacture cannot at present bear postage), she shall have a fair and candid answer.

I write myself SPINSTER, because the laws of my country call me so; and I think that name, used in all writings and instruments as the addition and distinction of a maiden or single woman of this island, denotes to us, that the general expectation of our lawgivers was, that the industry of female manufacturers would be most laudably employed this way, and therefore they gave the office of the Spinner as a title to the Gentlewoman.

It might be further urged, that this word intimates that a woman's chief praise consists in domestic industry, and in simplicity, rather than variety of dress.

In order to come at the true state of trade, and the interest of this island, with relation to the habits now worn, I shall take the modern English lady at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, which is her break of day; and allowing her to twelve for private devotion, suppose she has called to be dressed, and from the parcels of her dress, observing what she wears of English, and what of foreign product, with the prices of each part of her habit, make my inferences accordingly.

None amongst those whom we call *people of condition* can be at home or abroad, visit or receive visits, without having several dresses, with
several

Several suitable undresses, according to the following list, of absolute necessities for a fine lady. She has now nothing on but her slippers, and her maid in callico clothes with the productions of the whole earth as under-written.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A smock of cambrick holland, about three ells and a half, at 12s. <i>per</i> ell	2	2	0
Marseilles quilted petticoat, three yards wide and a yard long	3	6	0
An hoop-petticoat covered with tabby	2	15	0
A French or Italian silk quilted petti- coat, one yard and a quarter deep, and six yards wide	10	0	0
A mantua and petticoat of French brocade, 26 yards, at three pounds <i>per</i> yard	78	0	0
A French point or Flanders laced head, ruffles and tucker	80	0	0
Stays covered with tabby, English	3	0	0
A French necklace	1	5	0
A Flanders laced handkerchief	10	0	0
French or Italian flowers for the hair	2	0	0
An Italian fan	5	0	0
Silk stockings, English	1	0	0
Shoes, English	2	10	0
A girdle, French	0	15	0
A cambrick pocket handkerchief	0	10	0
E e			French

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
French kid gloves	0	2	6
A black French silk à la mode hood	0	15	0
A black French laced hood	5	5	0
Imbroidered knot and bosom knot, } French	2	2	0
<hr/>			
Total	210	7	6

This is the necessary demand upon every gentleman, who would live in fashion and in quiet, for one dress for his lady; and as it would be scandalous (as his wife, anxious for his reputation, according to her duty, admonishes him) for her to be known by her cloaths, she cannot but have five suits at least, and even with that she must stay at home one day in the week; but she is willing to do any thing for her children and family, and would not appear abroad every day, like that flaring busybody her neighbour Mrs. Blank.

According to this rule, foreigners sell this lady to the value of a thousand pounds, where the English sell her to the value of five; and I believe any company, or person, trade, or trader, on the British side of the channel, will find it hard to balance this loss to our country by what they sell of English cloathing to foreigners. I shall not therefore press the advantage further
in

in the argument, so far as to mention that her garters are French, and cost one pound five; that she has a pair of pockets of Marseilles quilting, which is another one pound five: nor need I observe that her stay-buckles, and buckles for her shoes, cannot be any other than brilliant, the price of which alters according to the price which others of our acquaintance, whom we love or envy, have purchased theirs. But I wonder I forgot that whatever part of the town the lady lives in, she must have a muff of five pounds five shillings; and if she lives in the city, she will catch cold if she has not a sable tippet worth fifteen pounds.

I had like to have concluded without taking notice, that the lining of her gown and petticoat was Italian lutestring, cheap at eight pounds; but on the English side of the account, which I forgot when about her legs, it must be added that she had thread stockings worth ten shillings.

In an affair of this nature, wherein a great demand of things of small price rises to great profit, it must not be forgotten that the cap on which her head is dressed is foreign silk, and so is the lace that ties it, as well as the lace for the stays. But for our encouragement at home, we supply her with pins, patches, powder, and wire. Patches may perhaps make a fraction in the account, therefore it must be considered that

it is English labour upon Italian silk.' I am dressing her for a visit; and as she is going out, she calls for her Turkey handkerchief, for which she gave five pounds five shillings; but she is now ready to move, and has called for either her coach or her chair; but as the maid is going, she bids her call both, lest she should alter her mind before she comes to the door, and then it is time enough to chuse which of the vehicles she pleases.

Whether we are taller this age than we were formerly, I cannot determine; but am divided in my conjectures whence it is that our women dress their heads lower, and the cielings of our rooms are raised higher than in former times; but be that as it will, the apartments through which I am to conduct this lady are hung with foreign silks, and the chairs covered with the same. But she is come to the door, and takes her chair lined with velvet, as dear as the silk with which herself is cloathed, and bids her coach (the inside of which is of velvet also, but of a colour less suitable to her complexion) put off.

This is the state of the case, and it behoves all on the Callico side of this question to make out as is above demanded of them, that they bring to England, by sale of the product of these kingdoms, more than the luxury and charge

charge in dress, described in the instance of one lady, reduces us to the necessity of supplying ourselves with from other nations.

The Legislature, before which this question now lies, will certainly consider whether the manufacturers of Wool, which is as much a produce of the land as are corn and grass, shall, instead of working those fleeces, and gaining to themselves a comfortable livelihood, and raising the rents of their landlord, become immoveable incumbrances upon that land, and live in the poors-rate, to the ruin of them both.

It is not proper to dictate to law-givers; but we may give them information. I have read in the *Lives of Plutarch*, that the wise *Lycurgus*, in order to maintain the Commonwealth in its simplicity, forbade the use of certain dresses to women; and to deter them from appearing in them, allowed them no remedy against abuse of their persons in those habits.

As I am talking to the female world, whose apparel is the cause of this evil, and speaking of *Lycurgus*, let me recommend the imitation of the *Spartan Dame*, now represented on the stage, where they will find the duty of a lady not restrained to domestic life, but enlarging the concern for her family into that of her country. When a woman of honour and understanding takes this matter seriously into her thoughts, she

will consider how far her fortune and person may influence or support a fashion, destructive to the society of which she is a member ; she will then, in justice as well as compassion, be fearful of putting on an ornament, which, if generally worn, may respectively expose, according to their sex, crowds of her fellow-subjects to shame or death.

It is not to be imagined, nor perhaps desired, that we should return to the manners of the first ages of the world ; but it is to be watchfully guarded that we admit of no refinements that may be prejudicial instead of being advantageous : an English Lady will therefore be such, not only in her own person, but also in her children and servants. There needs no greater skill for coming at the truth of this debate, than what every ordinary mistress of a family must be capable of. No one will make and provide at home what will hinder a family from doing what would purchase a great deal more than what would *buy the same thing* from abroad ; and, on the contrary, no one will go abroad for what they can have for less cost and labour at home. This is, perhaps, the main principle, which, observed or neglected, makes men rich or poor, a nation great or contemptible.

But I shall transgress the design and limits of this first discourse, which I intended should

go no further than just alarming the innocent causes of this evil, the Ladies, against ruining their country; their great grandmothers, who for ornament and dress painted their own bodies, would be astonished at the Callico Pictures, their degenerate children, and fly from their own offspring, as putting themselves in masquerade only to reduce themselves to their primitive poverty and nakedness. This is not at all said to disparage trade in general, but to make us more circumspect in maintaining the balance of it on our own side: no, it is very far from that, and I very much admire that excellent eulogium in the sixty-ninth SPECTATOR, first volume. That judicious, delightful, and memorable writer, after having celebrated, with greatest variety of eloquence, wit, and humour, our happiness as a trading people, has it thus: "There are not, says he, more useful members in a Commonwealth than Merchants. They knit mankind together in a mutual intercourse of good offices, distribute the gifts of Nature, find work for the poor, and wealth to the rich, and magnificence to the great. Our English merchant converts the tin of his own country into gold, and exchanges his wool for rubies. The Mahometans are clothed in our British manufacture, and the inhabitants

“ of the Frozen Zone warmed with the fleeces of
“ our sheep.

“ When I have been upon the *Change*, I have
“ often fancied one of our old Kings standing in
“ person, where he is represented in effigy, and
“ looking down upon the wealthy concourse of
“ people with which the place is every day
“ filled. In this case, how would he be sur-
“ prized to hear all the languages of Europe
“ spoken in this little spot of his former do-
“ minions; and to see so many private men, who
“ in his time would have been the *Vassals of*
“ *some powerful Baron*, negotiating like Princes
“ for greater sums of money than were formerly
“ to be met with in the Royal Treasury ! Trade,
“ without enlarging the British territories, has
“ given us a kind of additional empire : it has
“ multiplied the number of the rich, made our
“ landed estates infinitely more valuable than
“ they were formerly, and added to them an
“ accession of other estates as valuable as the
“ lands themselves.”

If it should appear that there are particular
collections or bodies of merchants, or particular
over-grown traders, who act and deal with a
direct contrary view to that of this general pro-
sperity of trade ; I will at present say no more of
them, but that they have no pretension to any
part of this panegyrick. Upon the whole, we
are

are undone, if, in the present posture of the world, something is not *resolved* for the improvement and immediate preservation of our trade*; for, as it now stands, I think it may be comprehended in what one Indian boy, talking to another one day as they waited for their masters at

* The occasion which produced this Essay had for some time before raised various clamours in the public papers.

The first regular pamphlet that we find appeared October 23, 1719, under the Title of "The Weaver's true Case; or the wearing of printed Callicoes and Linen destructive to the Woollen and Silk Manufactories; wherein all the material objections against the Weavers are fairly stated, considered, and answered. Addressed to the Members of the honourable House of Commons. By a Weaver." Sold by J. Roberts, price 6d.

This was followed, October 30, by a periodical Paper, intitled, "The MANUFACTURER, or British Trade truly stated; wherein the Case of the Weavers, and the wearing of Callicoes, are considered; to be continued every Wednesday and Friday, printed for W. Boreham." This soon produced, November 10, "THE BRITISH MERCHANT; or a Review of the Trade of Great Britain, so far as it is falsely stated by the MANUFACTURER; proving that the Author ought to have ranked the Heads of his Three first Papers under the word CLAMOUR, and not ARGUMENT. To be continued every Tuesday. Printed for J. Roberts." Which was again followed, November 23, by "The WEAVER; or, the State of our Home Manufacture considered. To be continued weekly. Printed for S. Nevill."

"The Weavers Complaint against the Callicoe Madams, as sung at the Playhouse in Lincoln's Inn Fields," is a Song of great humour, and may be seen at length in the Weekly Journal, November 7, 1719.

"The just Complaint of the poor Weavers truly represented, with as much Answer as it deserves to a Pamphlet lately written against them, intitled, The Weavers Pretences examined, &c. price 6d." was advertised in the Manufacturer, December 2, 1719.

"The Female Manufacturers Complaint, &c" (see p. 427.) appeared early in January, 1719-20.

Next Thursday will be published, Mr. Asgill's Answer to the Questions upon the Callicoes. The second Edition, with an Appendix upon the SPINSTER. Price 6d." Post-boy, January 12, 1719-20.

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the great house in Leadenhall-street, said to his comrade. The poor Indian, governing himself by outward appearances, and what he observed wherever he went, was overheard to say, "I cannot see, Pompey, in what the people of this country excell those of ours, except it be that they are governed by their wives; they go to our country to bring home to their women fine dresses from head to foot, only to purchase of them their hair for periwigs."

* * "In a short time will be published, A Miscellany of Original Poems, by a Gentleman. If any person is willing to insert any Poetical Pieces in this Collection, they are desired to send them, between this and the 25th of March, to John Bateman, Bookseller, in St. Paul's Church-yard, paying postage." Weekly Journal, Jan. 16, 1719-20.

† † † "To be let, within twenty miles of London, on an extraordinary good road, where the COACHES COME AND GO IN ONE DAY, a spacious large House, with almost eighteen acres of inclosed ground lying next to it, at about 30*l.* per annum, with very good stabling, coach-house, convenient out-houses, and kitchen and flower-gardens; and twenty acres more of inclosed ground, if required." Ibid.

"Nottingham, Derby, Loughborough, and Leicester Stage Coaches, continue still to go in THREE DAYS, from the Ram Inn in Smithfield, every Monday and Thursday." Postman, Nov. 21, 1719.

The Nottingham Mail Coach passes now (1789) in about 17 Hours.

"To be sold by HENRY PLAISTOW, at the King's Arms, the corner of Arundel-street, in the Strand, a new sort of Beavers and Cloth Hats of nice snuff-colours, for gentlemen, proper for the winter, for riding or hunting, which will keep out the wet, and hold their colour better than black, having a noble, genteel look, trimmed with silver or gold. At the same shop is the greatest choice of all sorts of hats for ladies and gentlemen, with feathers of all colours, at reasonable rates. Where are sold also the following neat Wines for ready money, viz. Red and white Port, at 1*l.* 10*s.* the hoghead, Methuen wine, Barrs-bar, Sherry, Young-Hock, and Rhenish, at 6*s.* per gallon, Palm Sack, at 7*s.* fine mellow Old Hock, at 10*s.* per gallon. Deep Margoes Claret, at 2*4s.* per dozen. Pontack, at 2*s.* 6*d.* per bottle, Hermitage and Burgundy, at 3*s.* per bottle. Right Coniac Brandy, at 9*s.* per gallon. Attendance will be constantly given: Where are clean bottles and casks of all sizes." St. James's Post, January 15, 1719-20.

THE

THE
FEMALE MANUFACTURERS
COMPLAINT:
BEING

The Humble Petition of DOROTHY DISTAFF, |
ABIGAIL SPINNING-WHEEL, ELEANOR
REEL, &c. Spinsters,

TO

THE LADY REBECCA WOOLPACK.

With a respectful Epistle to Sir RICHARD STEELE,
concerning some Omissions of the utmost
Importance in his Lady's Wardrobe.

By Monsieur DE BROCADE, of Paris *.

* First published in 8vo, in January 1719-20, by W. Boreham,
Price 3d.



To the Honourable and most Excellent Matron,
Mrs. REBECCA WOOLLPACK.

The Humble Representation and Petition of
DOROTHY DISTAFF, ABIGAIL SPINNING-
WHEEL, ELEANOR REEL, of St. Edmunds-
bury, in the County of Suffolk, Spinsters; in
behalf of themselves and many thousands of
the Female Manufacturers of Wool and Wor-
sted Yarn in the said County, and in the
Counties of Norfolk, Essex, Huntington,
Cambridge, Hertford, &c.

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners have for many years
been chearfully employed in the Wool-
len Manufactures of England, that is to say, in
the spinning of worsted yarn for the Stuff
Weavers of Norwich and of London, by which
we have very comfortably maintained and sup-
ported ourselves in such manner, as that we have
upon all occasions appeared decently at Church;
that is to say, with a clean pinner, a cherry-co-
loured chin-knot, a white apron, and a clean
pair of gloves, so that our Sweethearts have not
been ashamed of us; nay, some of us, who have
set to our work harder than ordinary, have ob-
tained, by long labour and good housewifery, a
narrow Buckinghamshire edging to our pin-
ners,

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ners, to the great improvement of our neighbour-lasses of that county, and the encouragement of the manufacture of Bone lace also.

We also farther humbly represent, that in some parts of the county where our fellow-spinners are poorer, and have not fathers and mothers to work for them, as we, who are good farmers and husbandmens daughters, may be supposed to have; but where, on the contrary, the money earned by the labour of the poor women and children is employed for their daily subsistence; yet that even there, may it please your Ladyship, the industrious poor women have, by the help of the spinning of worsted yarn as aforesaid, maintained their said families, and kept themselves and their said children from misery, and from being chargeable to the parish, though with very hard work and the utmost industry and application.

But now, and it please your Ladyship, there is sad and dreadful news come among us, as well from Norwich as from London, where our masters who employ us sell their yarn, and from whence they always, till now, had encouragement to set us to work, as also from all other parts of the country, signifying to us, that all the Ladies of London, the honourable and right honourable Spinsters of Cheapside and all over England, and even your Ladyship among
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the rest, have on a sudden, and to our great surprise and amazement, given over the use and wearing of the good honest old English manufactures of wool and worsted, and of silk mixed with wool, things in which we always believed here in the country that we looked as pretty, and appeared as tempting and agreeable to our Lovers and Sweethearts, as in any thing we can get to wear, and in which we have been told the City Spinsters have been as high and as proud as ever they can or will be in any thing else.

And this is not all ; but, and it please your Ladyship, our said Masters tell us the heavy tidings, that upon this humour of the Ladies, many woollen stuffs, and stuffs mixed with silk, and even silks themselves, are in a very great measure laid aside ; that some of them are quite lost, and thrown out of sale, such as brilliants and pulerays, antherines and bombazines, sattinets and chiverets, oraguella's, grazetts, great variety of silk and worsted foot-works, flowered grazetts, flowered silk and worsted tammy draughts, and damasks, fine coloured crapes, &c. and that they cannot sell their worsted yarn as usual at Norwich and London ; neither have they any more work for us to do, any wool to put out, or money to pay for the spinning, the market being stopped as aforesaid.

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May it please your Ladyship then to consider what a sad and deplorable condition we are now reduced to in the country; for as to us your petitioners, though we are, as above, farmers and husbandmens daughters, and our parents do make shift to give us victuals and drink, yet that we are utterly ruined; for we can now get no new cloaths, no knots, no edgings, as we observed to your Ladyship, and without which, your Ladyship well knows, we shall get no sweet-hearts, for we cannot go to the market nor to the fair, as usual; and your Ladyship knows what will be the miserable consequences of these things, for that the young men do not come after us now to our fathers houses, as they used to do, but always expect to see us at market-towns; so that if some speedy course be not taken in this matter, we are in danger of being utterly undone.

And as for the poor women and children in the county, as above, whose employment and whole subsistence depends upon the manufactures, and who must spin, or they and their families must starve; it were impossible, could your Ladyship hear the sad lamentations of those miserable families, but your heart would bleed for them, and you would never wear any thing that would contribute so much to the distresses of the poor.

But

But, besides this, we humbly crave leave to lay before your Ladyship, that, as we are informed, all this sudden change, which is apparently to the ruin of so many thousands of your petitioners, is brought about in favour of a tawdry, pie-spotted, flabby, ragged, low-priced thing, called CALLICOE; a foreigner by birth; made, the Lord knows where, by a parcel of Heathens and Pagans, that worship the Devil, and work for a half penny a day.

We likewise humbly represent to your Ladyship, that all this misery and distress, which is and will be the consequence of the Ladies falling with such a gust into this new outlandish fashion, is laid wholly at the door of your own fancies; that you have not been prompted to it by your husbands, or invited into it by your sweet-hearts or lovers; for the men, it seems, do not wear any of it themselves, nor do they find that you save them any money in their pockets by it, as we shall fully prove to you afterwards. We say, it is all laid at your door; and we are given to understand, that while the men in vain have represented to your Ladyship, that it will be ruinous and destructive to the trade of the nation, and to the woollen manufactures, and desired you, though to no purpose, to be persuaded to lay it aside, you are all the more obstinate in the use of it; so that they are now

obliged to lay it before the Parliament, in order to *force* you to alter the mode, and to dress in the good, honest, home-spun Manufactures of England ; which, by the way, will be not only much against the grain, as to the fashion itself, but will also be much to your dishonour, that you should be so commanded by the men to lay it down, and be brought to do it by FORCE.

We most earnestly entreat your Ladyship, therefore, to consider what great reproach you are going to bring upon yourself, and us all, and what injury even your children and grandchildren of our sex must sustain by thus bringing us all under a sort of subjection to the men, in the modes of our dress ; “ a yoke,” from husbands, “ which neither we nor our mothers “ have ever been able to bear.” It ought, doubtless, to be above the dignity of our sex to be thus brought under this bondage ; and, therefore, we most humbly beseech you to let this change be the work of your own choice ; and not suffer it to be imposed upon you by the men, who will certainly, if they carry this point, take upon them for the future to bring in sumptuary laws upon us, and oblige us to wear such cloaths as they think fit ; or otherwise, which would be intolerable (and which we hope you would make an insurrection rather than submit to), oblige the
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the Ladies to wear no cloaths any richer than their husbands can pay for.

But, besides all this, we desire your Ladyship, in the humblest manner possible, to take the condition of our poor sex into your most serious consideration. We most passionately represent to your Ladyship how much you are really interested in this affair; how the Worshipful your Ladyship's Grandfather was a WOOLPACK, the good old Squire raised all his fortunes by us Spinners, and many a comely country Lass has manufactured for him. Old Sir HARRY WOOLCOMBE, of Bury St. Edmonds, was also near of kin to you, Madam, and he got a great estate from the Comb-pot, and made all his daughters ladies and gentle-folks. Besides, your Ladyship is allied, by some removes, to a great many right honourable persons, the direct off-spring of the most ancient families in Suffolk and Norfolk, such as the families of the OUMSLERS, the STAPLERS, and the ancient TRESSEL-BEATERS, and others. Lord, Madam, can you forget the graves of your ancestors, and the grey hairs of your fore-fathers? if they should rise from the dead now, and see you dressed up in your painted trangums, and East India rags, while all the poor Spinners hung about you crying for bread and for work; good your Ladyship, what think you my good masters would

say to it? would they not carry you away a pick-a-pack?

Besides, may it please your good Ladyship to consider, that if the honour of your family is not supported and maintained, which, by the way, can never be done, if a stop is not put to the wearing these Callicoe trumpery, you can never maintain or support your character; for, we beseech your Ladyship, if the Wool comes to lie on hand, and not be spun and worked up, what will all the family of the WOOL-PACKS come to? they will certainly be laid by till they rot, and come to rags. We have often seen, Madam, some of the largest and most flourishing of you WOOL-PACKS, when the market has been dull, and the Wool would not go off, suffer great loss, and be reduced to a very tattered condition.

Nay, let me recommend it to your consideration, that if this goes on, the best of your expectations, and of those other ladies of your family, may be to be sent over to France; and there, if nothing worse should happen to you, yet you must change your religion, and you would all become Popish WOOL-PACKS, whether you would or no.

And as for us poor Spinsters, we must certainly go away to France also. Nay there is a particular reason for that, which we have
not

not mentioned yet; and that is, that here is abundance of the young men, such as we used to pitch upon for our best thoughts, and who, when they had work, were pretty clean fellows, and went well dressed a Sundays, who were Manufacturers, and lived very well, have been forced since to go down to the sea-side; and there, they tell us, are French folks and Dutch folks; at Ipswich and other places, that give them money to go abroad, and so we never see them more: and assure yourself, and it please your Ladyship, that if all our Sweet-hearts run away, we will all go after them, and then you may e'en spin your Wool-packs yourself.

But we hope your Ladyship will be prevailed upon by the tears of your own sex, and by the miseries of the poor, which you cannot be insensible of, to commiserate the poor country, and set your helping hand to a work so necessary to be done, and (which is more than all the rest) is so easy for you to do.

Which brings us to the main subject of this your petitioners humble representation, namely, That your Ladyship would consider how much it is in your power, at one turn of your hand, to put an end to all these miseries of your country, and to wipe up the tears of all the poor families in the nation, by only vouchsafing to submit your fancy to your reason, and by bring-

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ing your humour and your judgement to correspond a little together.

Let us suppose for once, that your fancy, at least for the present, according to the laudable custom of our sex, does now run for the gewgaws of the East Indies, as sometimes it has done in former days for those of France. But, sure, when you are convinced that this usage of yours tends to the entire destruction of the Manufactures of your country, that it will of course turn thousands of poor women and children into the streets a-begging, and to the parishes for support; that the trade shall be universally influenced by it, and that a great many devilish, thieving, running, cheating trades, are brought in among us by it, to the ruin of the fair trader; we say, when your Ladyship is convinced of this, we are persuaded you will throw your fine Chints Gown and Petticoat in the fire, and declare that you will never more wear any thing so prejudicial to the British manufacture, or so dangerous to the worshipful Family of the WOOL-PACKS.

Permit us, and't please your Ladyship, in the next place, humbly to represent to your consideration, how absolutely it is reserved in your own power, and in your own hands, to effect this; and to all intents and purposes to rescue all the poor Manufacturers in the nation
from

from the bondage and misery they are now fallen into.

As the evil is laid at your door, so the remedy is in your hands ; for, if you are the cause, you may certainly be the cure. May Heaven dictate to you, how, being the original spring of all our misfortunes, you are under an effectual obligation to endeavour the redressing this grievance !

As the general wearing of Callicoes is the complaint, the general leaving them off will be the cure. The fashion is the grievance, because it is a fashion ; it is in the Ladies power at once to make it odious and abhorred all over the kingdom. You are able to make it as much out of fashion, as you brought it into fashion at once. You gave it your sanction, by approving and espousing it ; and you can sink it again by the blast of your mouths.

Take the honour of it, Madam, from the men ; give them nothing to boast of for reforming their wives ; but make their wives triumph over them, by telling them, that you, whenever you please, can distress them ; and again, whenever you please, remove their grievance.

The men can make no such alteration, they cannot decry or oblige us to the disuse of any thing ; but if you turn your eyes this or that way, you can raise or suppress what you please to the public benefit of the nation.

To what purpose should we trouble our representatives with our complaints? Ease us, Madam, yourselves of the trouble. If the women in England will but set their hands to this work, not a Callicoe, not a piece of linen printed or stained, shall be sold or worn in England. Then all our petitions will be at an end, they that bid the people petition will bid them be easy; all the Manufactures of Great Britain shall revive, and the women will have the glory of having saved the Nation.

We most humbly put your Ladyship in mind how the men insult us upon this head; how they insolently tell us, that though the women may sometimes do more good than hurt, they never had the opportunity of doing more hurt than good but they were sure to take hold of it.

And thus they conclude, that our deliverance, to use their own words, is out of sight, because it is in the hands of the women, who always did hurt rather than good.

Contradict them, we beseech your Ladyship, in this article, and let the whole country be saved by your hand. All the petitions then from the several parts of the kingdom shall be removed; and we, the poor country manufacturers and spinners, will pay our homage to you Ladies of London; and the honour of delivering

ing the whole family of the Spinners shall be your own.

“ In order to this, the prayer of our Petition
 “ concludes to your Ladyship, That you
 “ would be pleased to take the sad and
 “ deplorable condition of your poor petitioners into your consideration ; and, in a
 “ word, that you and all the Ladies of your
 “ family, the renowned family of the WOOL-
 “ PACKS, with all your family and servants,
 “ may, by your order, lay aside your Cal-
 “ licoe gowns and petticoats of all sorts, and
 “ declare publicly that none of you will any
 “ more be dressed in them, whether we call
 “ dressing the set-dress for abroad, or the
 “ dishabille for the morning ; but that you
 “ would reassume those many pretty stuffs
 “ which are already invented by our weavers,
 “ or which may be invented to please the
 “ fancy, in the room of the Callicoes. And
 “ your petitioners, leaving all other appli-
 “ cation, shall for ever pray for all happiness
 “ to the noble family of the WOOL PACKS.

“ DOROTHY DISTAFF.

“ The Mark ✕ of ABIGAIL SPINNING WHEEL.

“ ELEANOR REEL.”

A Re-

A

Respectful E P I S T L E

T O

SIR RICHARD STEELE,

AUTHOR OF THE SPINSTER.

AFTER acknowledging, Sir, your very good meaning in your late performance for the encouragement of the good wives in their compleat way of dressing; it seems very strange, that you, who are so exquisitely read in the literature of the Toilette, that could rate the very smocks of the ladies, and tell as well how much they cost a yard, as how many yards of holland there are in them; I say, that you should omit some articles in the Lady's wardrobe, that are so necessary to compleat the various appearances of a fine Lady: and particularly,

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
A hat of Leghorn — — —	1	10	0
A beaver and feather for the forest	3	0	0
A riding suit, with embroidery of } Paris — — — }	47	10	0
Three dresses for the masquerade; } two from Venice, 18 <i>l.</i> each }	36	0	0
One			

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One from Paris, of green velvet à la Sultaneffe, set with pearls and rubies	123	15	0
	<hr/>		
	211	15	0

After, Sir, you had gone this length, you ought to have conversed with TOM DRAWBOY, the Mercer upon Ludgate-hill, who would for two bottles have confessed that they (Mercers) have about twelve or fifteen Master-weavers at this time in work in Spittle-fields, and all kept in full business, making French brocaded silks for the Ladies; that is to say, for those nice Ladies of quality who do not take up with any thing but what is right French.

It must be confessed that this is a very great help to the Weavers at this the time of their unhappy circumstances; and therefore those Ladies are exceeding kind, and great supporters of the silk manufactures of Great Britain, who are pleased thus far to shut their eyes upon so extraordinary an occasion, and be put off with Spittle-fields instead of the Fauxbourgs of Paris. And as they have no wrong done them, the goods made in Spittle-fields being not only as good, but every way superior to those made in Paris, it is hoped they will not think them less French for being made in their own country.

There

There are some other trifles, Sir, you had forgot also, which I shall not now enumerate; as some essences, pomatums, especially that of *the grand occasion*, and such like toys, which must not be reckoned to cost the Lady less than 150l. a year; but of these hereafter.

I most humbly beg your Worship's pardon for these hints; not doubting but you will make a good use of them as they occur in your next SPINSTER *. I am, Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

Spilster de Fel,
Jan. 2, 1719-20.

TISSERANDO DE BROCADE.

* No other number of the SPINSTER has occurred to our researches.

T O

THE AUTHOR OF THE LOVER*.

S I R,

THAT all your Readers may have a right notion of the *use* and *abuse* of Love, as founded upon the unerring laws of nature, I here communicate the discussion of two cases of conscience, as resolved by our learned countryman Dr. GILBERT BURNET, 1680; and they are freely at your service. Yours,

Glasgow,
Nov. 20, 1714.

JOHN MITCHELL.

* The general title of the publication from which this article is taken is as follows: "Memoirs towards a History of Men eminent in the Republic of Letters, as well foreign as domestic." (See p. 315.)

Of how many half-crown numbers this work consisted we are not certain, nor that there ever was any more of it printed than the part from which we are now extracting. That part has the following separate title:

"Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Richard Steele. Wherein are contained, Two curious Dissertations, written by the late Bishop Burnet, viz.

"I. A Defence of Polygamy, proving, that it is not contrary to the Law and Nature of Marriage; and that an express prohibition of it is no where to be found in Scripture.

"II. [The Lawfulness of Divorce on account of Sterility in Women, proving that Defect a sufficient reason for Separation.] Also some Memoirs of the Earls of Nottingham, Portmore, and Lord Chief Baron Pengelly, with his WILL. London, Printed for E. Curll and W. Leventhorpe, at Congreve's Head, directly over-against Catherine-street, in the Strand, 1731, Price 2s. 6d."

This

This copy is taken from the original, attested by Dr. PATTERSON, Archbishop of GLASGOW, now in Possession of the Honourable ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, where it may be seen if there is occasion.

The Archbishop of Glasgow's attestation under his hand and episcopal seal manual. Edinburgh, the 5th of January, 1703.

The Resolutions of these two cases, viz.

[I. *Is POLYGAMY in any case lawful under the Gospel?*

II. *Is a Woman's Barrenness a just ground for DIVORCE or POLYGAMY?*] is a true copy of what I saw, read, and copied, from the original Manuscript, written with Dr. GILBERT BURNET's own hand; and which I copied over at HAM *, in the year 1680, the original being then in the possession of the Duke of LAUDERDALE, by whose allowance and consent I took a copy of it. This I do hereby solemnly attest; as witness my hand and seal, day, year, and place, above written.

J. GLASGOW. (L. S.)

* In Surrey, where the Duke of

a fine seat.

CASE

CASE. I.

“ *Is POLYGAMY in any Case lawful under the Gospel?* ”

RESOLVED.

“ For answer, it is to be *considered*, that *Marriage* is a *Contract* founded upon the *Laws of Nature*, its *End* being the *Propagation of Mankind*; and the Formality of doing it by Churchmen, is only a supervenient Benediction, or pompous solemnizing of it; and therefore the *Nature of Marriage*, and not any *Forms* used in the *Celebration* of it, is to be *considered*. It is true, the case is harder when any is married by such a *Form* as binds him to *ONE Woman*, than where he is bound only by the *Tie of Marriage* conceived in *general Terms*.

“ The case of mankind, since the Fall, varies very much from what it was in Innocency; for then the *Soundness* of their *Bodies*, and the *Purity* of their *Minds*, did keep out of the way all the hazards of barrenness, sickness, uncleanness, or crossness of humour; and therefore a single Marriage, as being the perfectest coalition of friendship and interest, was proper to that state; and so *God* made but *one Woman* for *one Man*: but upon the Fall, the case varied hugely, and frigidity, barrenness, unchastity, crossness of

humours, made the former law not so proper for the following race of mankind ; yet still a single marriage was the perfecter, as being nearer the original.

“ Before the Flood, we find Lamech a **POLYGAMIST** ; such were Abraham and Jacob after it : so that this was not indulged by Moses ; for all that he did relating to this, was only to allow of **DIVORCE**, which was a Proviso from the hardness of the Israelites hearts. Every man was bound to maintain whom he had *once* married ; lest therefore such as designed *another* wife, and could not maintain the *former*, might use *indirect* ways to be rid of them ; this *Fair One of Divorce*, was allowed of by *God* ; and this *Polygamy* was practised, without either allowance or controul, as the natural right of mankind ; neither is it any where marked among the Blemishes of the Patriarchs ; David’s Wives (and store of them he had) are termed by the Prophet, *God’s gift to him* : Yea *Polygamy* was made, in some cases, a Duty by Moses’s Law ; when any died without issue, his Brother, or nearest Kinsman, was to marry his wife, for *raising up seed* to him ; and all were obliged to *obey* this under the Hazard of Infamy if they refused it ; neither is there any exception made for such as were *Married* ; from whence I may faithfully conclude, that what God made necessary in some cases

cases to any degree, can in no case be sinful in itself; since God is holy in all his ways: And thus far it appears, that **POLYGAMY** is not contrary to the *Law and Nature of Marriage*. But it is next to be examined, if it is *forbidden* under the *Gospel*. It is certain our Lord designed to raise mankind to the highest degrees of *Purity and Chastity*; and therefore our Lord and St. Paul do prefer a *Single Life* to a *Married State*, as that which qualifies us for the Kingdom of Heaven, and was loaded with the fewest incumbrances; and by this rule, a *Single Marriage* being next to none at all, is certainly most suitable to the *Gospel*; but a simple and express discharge of **POLYGAMY** is no where to be found. It is true, our Lord discharges *Divorces*, except in the case of *Adultery*; adding that whosoever puts away his wife upon any other account, commits *Adultery*; so St. Luke and St. Matthew in one place have it: or *commits Adultery against her*; so St. Mark has it: or *causes her to commit Adultery*; so St. Matthew in another place. If it be then *Adultery* to take another woman after an *unjust Divorce*, it will follow, that the *Wife* has that Right to the *Husband's* body, that he must touch no *other*. This is indeed plausible; and is all that can be brought from the New Testament, which seems convincing; yet it will not be found of weight:

For it is to be considered, that if our Lord had been to antiquate POLYGAMY, it being so deeply rooted in the men of that age, confirmed by such famous and unquestioned precedents, and riveted by so long a practice, he must have done it plainly and authoritatively; and not in such an involved manner, that it must be sought out of his words by the search of Logic; neither are these dark words made more clear by any of the Apostles in their writings. Words are to be carried no farther than the design upon which they were written will lead them to; so that our Lord being in that place to strike out Divorces so explicitly, we must not, by a consequence, condemn POLYGAMY, since it seems not to have fallen within the scope of what our Lord does there disapprove. Besides, the term *Adultery* may be taken in general for such a breach of wedlock as is equivalent to *Adultery*; and such is an *unjust Divorce*. This may be the Import of the phrase used by St. Mark, *viz. He committeth Adultery against her*; or all may be better explained by the phrase St. Matthew uses about it in one place, *He causes her to commit Adultery*. Since he that exposeth and tempteth to sin shares in the guilt with the person that succumbs: And from this it appears, that POLYGAMY is not declared *Adultery*, neither in the place cited, nor in any other that I know

know of. But it is true, that POLYGAMY falls short of the intendment of *Marriage* in Innocency, to which state we that are under the Gospel must return as near as it is possible. It is to be confessed, that POLYGAMY was much condemned by the Antients: Though I think I have met with something about it that is little noticed; but of *that*, I can adventure to say nothing at this distance from my books and papers. But all that being granted, it is to be considered, that the Ancients were unjust and severe against *Marriage*, and did excessively favour the Celibate or *Single*; so that in some places, they who *Married the second Time* were put to do *Penance* for it: And indeed, both *Jew* and *Gentile* had run into such excess, by their free commixtures, that it is no wonder if the Holy men of these ages, being provoked to a *just* Zeal against such *unjust* Practices, must have been carried through immoderate swaying of the counterpoise into some extremes on the other hand: Therefore, to conclude this short answer, wherein many things are hinted which might have been enlarged to a volume, I see nothing so strong against POLYGAMY, as to balance the great and visible imminent hazards that hang over so many thousands, if it be not *allowed*."

As to the *Solution* of the second case of Conscience, "viz. "*Of the Lawfulness of Divorce on*

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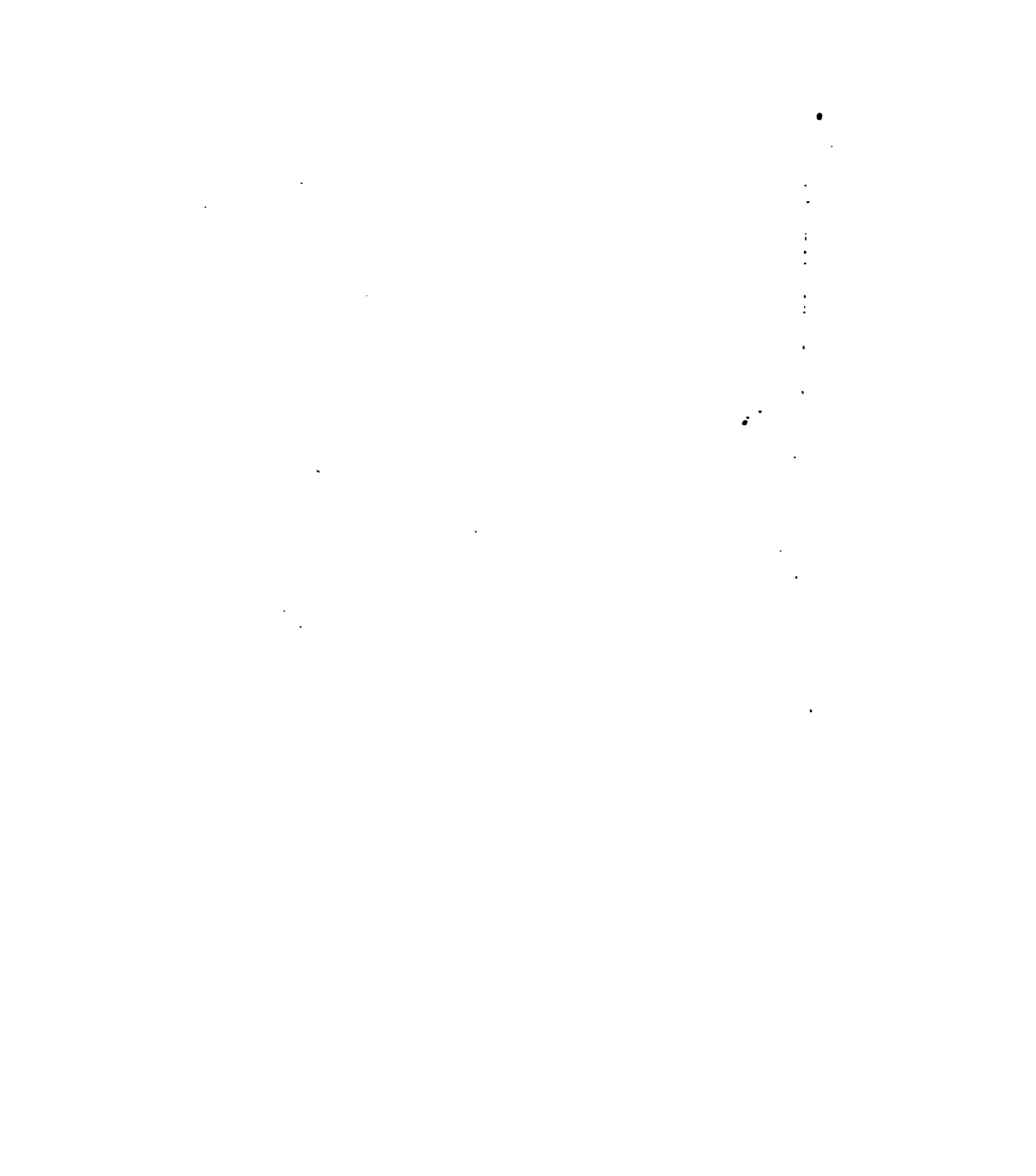
"*account of Barrenness*," there are some expressions so plainly uttered, as would offend the Fair Sex ; for which reason we shall omit the recital of them in this place, and only observe with a late Historian, that these arguments seem to forward a design which Dr. Burnet tells us was set on foot, to divorce K. *Charles II.* from Q. *Catherine* *.

* See Higgins's Remarks on Burnet's History, p. 158, 159.

P. 446. *Note*, r. " Duke of Lauderdale had a seat."

F I N I S.





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